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ABSTRACT

This book surveys different aspects of childhood in the United States during its first 200 years. The first chapter surveys trends in immigration, mortality and health, education, and income. Chapter 2 is an historical review of family behavior. In Chapter 3, child health services over the last 200 years are reviewed including early policy and programs, the founding of the Children's Bureau, and recent programs and medical breakthroughs sponsored by the federal government. Chapter 4 is a collection of essays on American educational systems and opportunities. Chapter 5 reviews various social services and reforms. Chapter 6 surveys children's recreation over the last 200 years. In Chapter 7, different periods in children's literature are explored. Chapter 8 reviews attitudes, concepts and facts about child development. Chapter 9 discusses children and the law. Implications for the future are discussed. (SB)

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200 YEARS OF CHILDREN

Edith H. Grotberg
Editor

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Foreword

The Office of Child Development is happy to make this book available to those interested in learning more about the major events, trends, and patterns of the past 200 years which have affected children of the United States. 1976 is an important year in our Nation's history and it is most appropriate to pause at this time to examine and assess what has occurred over the years as far as its impact on children is concerned. Most children have had a difficult time of it until very recently. Life was hard; labor demanding; childhood short; pleasures few; and risks great. Just to be able to stay alive and well was a major accomplishment. While today's physical challenges are not so foreboding for most, some disadvantaged groups still do not have adequate care and protection. The concern of the government (we the people) for our children has increased over the years and is manifest in burgeoning legislation and social policy aimed at meeting the needs of children both in protective and developmental ways. Today there are many issues which must be addressed to assure that the Nation continues to meet the needs of its highly vulnerable non-voting child population. Some of the more critical issues are stated here in the form of questions.

1. How do we prevent child abuse and neglect, delinquency, handicapping conditions, and developmental and learning disabilities?

2. How do we support families so they can provide the best conditions for and contributions to optimum child development?

3. How do we anticipate and programmatically provide proper programs for children being raised outside of traditional family units, especially in light of evolving family dynamics, unwed teenage mothers, growing disintegration of

traditional and extended family support systems, etc.?

4. How do we eliminate discrimination in the forms of inequality of access and opportunity viz a viz various social institutions?

5. How do we provide adequate health, education and welfare services for promoting optimum child development over time?

6. How do we organize and maintain services so that they are comprehensive, flexible, coordinated and articulated for maximum impact on the total ecology of selected target populations?

7. How do we involve consumers of children's services, particularly parents and other prime caregivers, in the policy-making and programmatic aspects of children's services?

8. How do we measure and account for the impact of all legislation and social policy which directly or indirectly impinges upon children and their families?

These are some of the questions facing those who make policy for and provide services to the Nation's children today. The answers will determine the future for many children, our greatest natural resource. The best talents of the Nation must be employed to find the most efficacious answers, since these same children and youth, on whom we spend less than 10% of the Federal budget and who represent nearly 40% of the population, also represent 100% of our future. Indeed, they soon may be voting on our eldercare and remember our considerate compassion or its conspicuous absence.

Some promising attempts to find answers are already in progress by a variety of public and private sector groups in the Nation. The Office of Child Development is constantly addressing these questions and intends to continue discovering and implementing satisfactory answers. This book eloquently states where we have been and serves as an historical backdrop against which current and future efforts gain more meaningful perspective and can thus be more appropriately staged.

John H. Meier

John H. Meier, Ph.D.
Director, Office of Child
Development
and
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Introduction and Overview

If you walked through the Mall during the summer of 1976 you saw the magnificent Folk Festival sponsored by the Smithsonian Institute. The Festival gave children and their families a sweep of the bicentennial by presenting folklore, folk dancing and singing, crafts, music and games from the past 200 years. Surrounding the Mall and moving to the east, are enough museums to present virtually a complete history of the United States of America in exciting and attractive forms. And a few blocks to the north was a Celebration in Learning demonstration of a child care center, where visitors saw ways to work with young children to enhance their development. This was sponsored by the District of Columbia government and attracted thousands because of the importance of child care programs in 1976.

Every city and village had something for celebrating the Bicentennial with July 4 gatherings and fireworks the highlight. Such a year provides a kind of benchmark which encourages a looking back to what happened and a looking forward to what can or should happen.

This book uses 1976 to look back to see what happened to children over the years and to make some statement about what the current issues are which have implications for the future of children. The book is written about children; it is not for them. Others have to write books on the Bicentennial for children.

The present book is concerned with the major aspects of child life more than with historical events. It is concerned with the conditions of life, the changes in life, the trends in consideration of children's needs in health, education and welfare, the growing interest in children's recreation and literature, and the more recent focus on the rights of children to develop their full potential. There are a number of themes which are evident in each chapter of the book.

One theme is the great variety of people who have contributed to the development of this country. This variety includes a variety of child rearing practices, attitudes toward children, use of children for work and preparation of children for adult life.

Another theme is the movement of the people, whether it was west to explore and settle the frontier or whether it is more recent in moving to take new jobs or just in moving around with automobiles and airplanes for pleasure and recreation and business.

Another theme is the persistent effort to move the focus of life from survival only, where the individual has little identify or indeed much chance for living life, to the focus of life on individual fulfillment, participation in community affairs and concerns, and freedom of choice. Recreation and literature are expressions of this shift.

There is also a theme of increased movement away from the family's prime role in rearing and educating children to social institutions providing for the education, welfare, recreation and health of children.

Still another theme is the protection of children from harm by increased legal intervention and increased public and private services to make life more meaningful and less hazardous. One particular facet of this theme is a gradual movement from correction of problems to prevention of problems.

The theme of development of children is seen in the history of the education movement, the history of the White House Conferences on Children and (later) Youth, the history of attitudes toward children, the history of laws, and the more recent history of research on child development.

Life was difficult for children and their families in the young nation. It was frought with dangers of disease, infant and maternal mortality, the environment, malnutrition. Life was short, work was hard, and pleasures few. The work ethic and religious emphases of the country made pleasure the equivalent of evil and free time the potential for decadent idleness. Families were strict with their children, regarded them as chattels and frequently sold them for labor.

Life in 1976 is still difficult for some children, particularly those children from families with low incomes and children from minority groups. These children have shorter lives, less education, less opportunity for advanced education or higher paying jobs. Another vulnerable group is the disabled, whether the disability is mental, physical, emotional or developmental. Still another vulnerable group is the institutionalized child, the child in a foster home, the child considered for adoption and the abused and neglected child. These groups are receiving a major portion of the nation's attention to provide laws and services to reduce inequities, to prevent deleterious effects of early problems and to make equal access and opportunity to all services a reality.

The book describes some of the events, the ideas, the forces which prompted changes in life styles and changes in social institutions. These changes are dramatic, frequently shake institutions to their very foundation and just as frequently provide new institutions which better address the needs of children.

Chapters I and II present the critical information on immigration and migration patterns of families over the past two hundred years. Chapter I focuses on demographic information important for understanding the movement and conditions of the people with clear data on trends which indicate increasing resolution of population differences in mortality, health, education and income. Chapter II describes some family styles and child rearing patterns which influence attitudes toward children, "uses" of children and expectations of children. The different immigrant groups made their impact on American culture and were in turn influenced by the American culture. The concept of cultural pluralism, a relatively recently revived concept, plays its role in family life.

Chapters III, IV and V address the three major administrative structures at the Federal and State levels which are concerned with the wellbeing and learning of children.

Chapter III describes the enormous problem faced by the nation in learning about health and then using that knowledge through various kinds of service delivery systems to improve the health of all children. The increased move from correction to prevention and from crisis to preparation is evident in the chapter. Chapter IV describes the critical ideas and forms of education over time, with a recognition of the relationship of social values, industrial, scientific and technological demands to educational forms and substance. The issue of utilitarian education and education for jobs as against education for individual development - intellectual, social and cultural - is highlighted and developed. The problems of access, equality and education for all children are treated over time. Chapter V presents in rich detail the drive within the American people to correct their own behavior and institutions when these are shown to be cruel, destructive and at odds with the basic values of the nation as expressed in the Constitution. The battles waged in the name of child welfare dramatize both the nature of the conflict and the courage and creativity in many of the resolutions.

Chapters VI and VII focus on sources of pleasure for children. Chapter VI traces the attitudes of society toward recreation and play from a virtual fear of both to an increasing recognition of the need for recreation and play. The leisure time provided by the industrial revolution and the problems inherent in urban factory life prompted the development of institutions outside the family to provide recreation and play facilities for children. The chapter shows the increased involvement of voluntary and governmental groups in providing recreation and play areas and facilities. Chapter VII traces the role of literature in children's lives from didactic and religious books to books to delight children not only for the subject matter but the design and form of the books. The need for reading to enjoy children's literature was met by public education and children from all economic levels could read. The rise of libraries, children's reading centers and the burst of children's literature in the recent past all are related to attitudes toward children and knowledge about them. While the traditional kinds of children's literature include fiction, folklore, history and fantasy still continue, there are newer forms consisting of science, science fiction, special problems of children, and special reading needs of children.

Chapters VIII and IX both are concerned with child development. Chapter VIII looks at historical events from the perspective of child development and points out the importance of examining traditional institutions organized by service categories from a child development perspective where the child is perceived as a total developing organism. The recentness of the child development concept is explained by lack of knowledge, attitudes toward children, the severity of life and the lack of resources to address children within a developmental framework. Chapter IX looks at child development from a legal standpoint. Again, history is examined, this time in terms of law from a child development perspective. The increased awareness of children's rights and their needs to be protected by laws is traced. Further, the impact of the laws on social institutions, including the family is examined over time. The relationship between attitudes and beliefs and the law are clearly made as well as the trends toward greather respect for the individual, whether adult or child.

These chapters were written by people who are concerned with children and who have worked with them and/or for them over the years. Many of the authors have held or presently hold positions in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, but do not necessarily reflect the views of the agencies. The authors wrote as independent citizens and gave of their own time and talent as a labor of love for children. The authors outside of DHEW are well known friends of children and have been closely related to many Federal activities concerning the needs and conditions of children.

The gratitude of the editor is extended to each author. Gratitude is also extended to Margaret Parker and Carolyn Herring. Ms. Parker is thanked for the hours spent in typing the manuscripts and Ms. Herring for her help in editing and proofreading.

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November, 1976

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Chapter I

THE AMERICAN LEGACY

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Some unknown thousands of years ago, a slow trickle of immigrants began to cross from Asia into a new world. These were the first Americans. In time, they occupied most of North America and had migrated far into South America. Different groups had distinct physical characteristics and developed varied cultures throughout the Americas. Estimates are uncertain, but populations in those early years were small, perhaps only a few million.

Centuries later, the new world was discovered by Europe, which slowly populated it through hesitant colonization steps. Colonization attempts and immigration were sporadic but became bolder and larger in scale. Nevertheless, it took a substantial amount of time for the population to increase and to occupy (although sparsely) the area defined by the original 13 colonies. The population was less than three million at the time of the American Revolution (see Figure 1).

1/ Now with Herner and Company, Washington, D.C.

2/ The author would like to thank critics of earlier drafts, especially Professor Leo P. Ribuffo of The George Washington University for detailed comments. Of course, none of these persons is responsible for ommissions, errors of interpretation, or other shortcomings of this chapter.

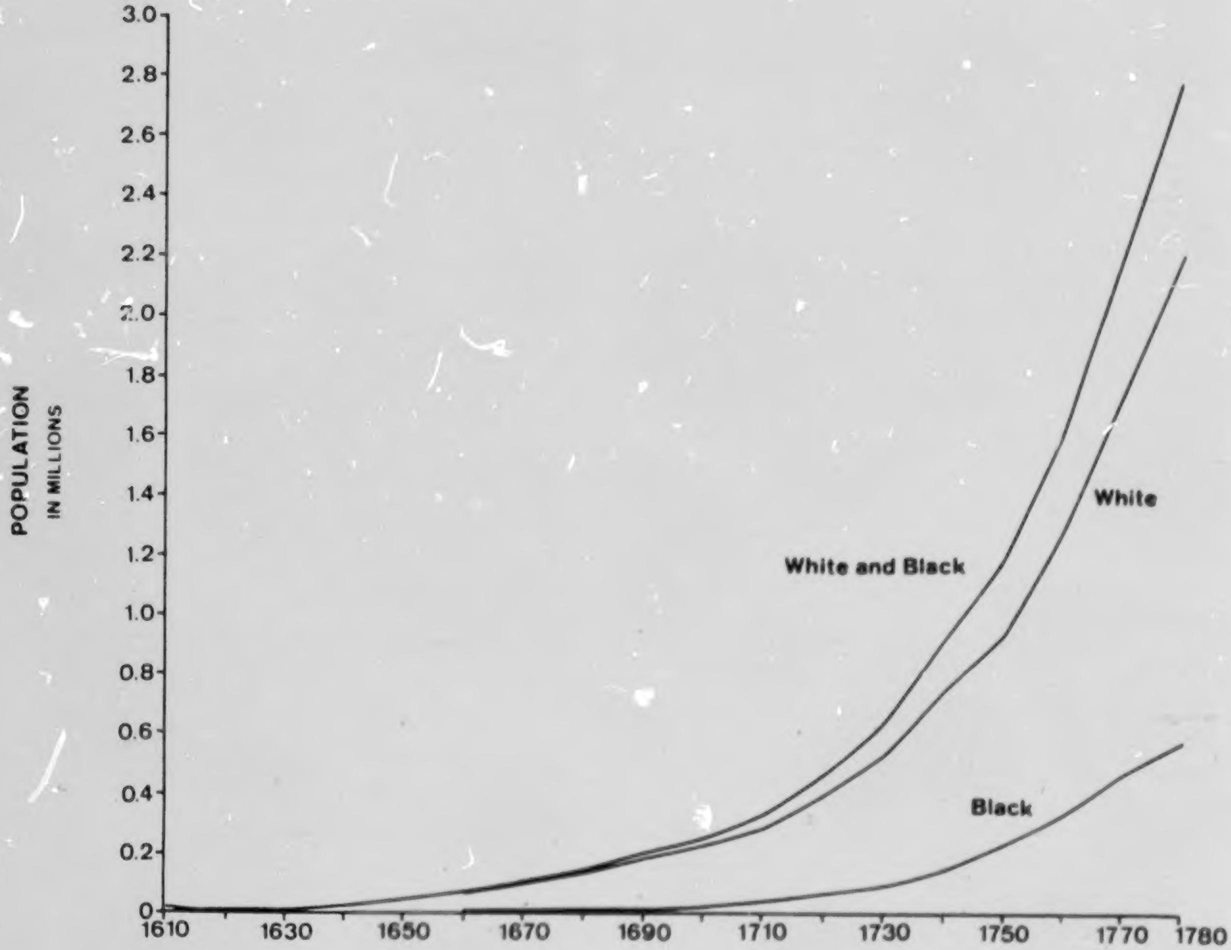

Figure 1 Estimated Population of America: 1610-1780

People migrated west, south, and north, ahead of the series of treaties, wars, and purchases that increased land area. Statehood was achieved for new territories, sometimes after long delays or considerable political controversy. Although the population continued to increase, the addition of massive new territories meant fluctuations in population densities.

The growth of the population was governed by immigration and birth rates, on the one hand, and by infant mortality and death rates, on the other. Infant mortality was very high, but birth rates were explosive. Estimates for the earliest years are unavailable or highly unreliable, but estimates from 1800 on (see Figure 2) suggest how much birth rates have fallen.

Although population growth was slow in some decades, it grew by as much as thirty percent in others. Hard economic periods in the new land led to decreased birth rates and reduced immigration, and population growth in an area typically lagged well behind its initial exploration, settlement, and addition to the United States. Nevertheless, the population grew.

In the Bicentennial year, there will be more than 215 million people in the United States. Of these, more than 15.5 million will be children under 5; more than 65.3 million will be children and youth under 18. These people belong to the broad racial groups and diverse cultures forged either in the new nation or transferred from distant homelands.

Immigration

What were the characteristics of the early immigrants? What motivated them? What were their national origins, cultural characteristics, and their living conditions in the new land?

Spain, Portugal, and France were largely responsible for the colonization of South America and Canada; however, a series of political and military events ensured that

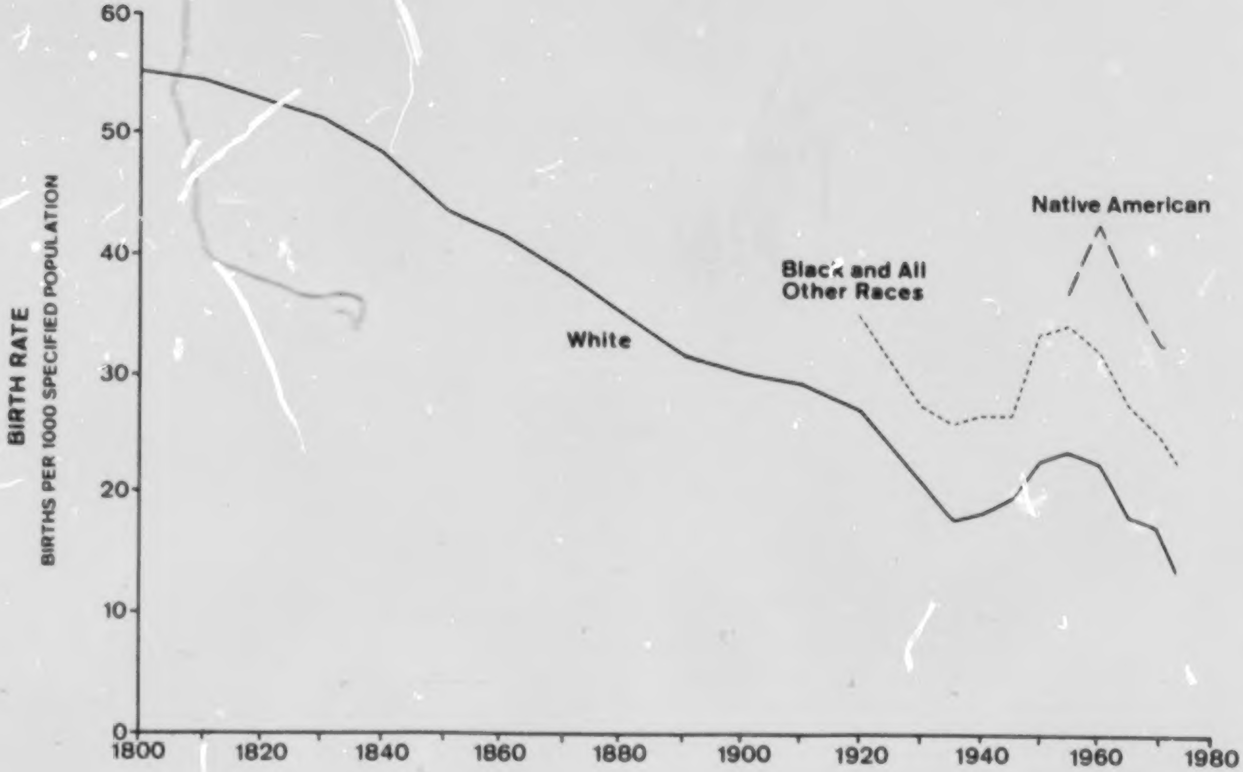

Figure 2 Birth Rates: 1800-1980

England would be the primary colonizing power in the future United States. Colonial allegiance would therefore be to England although immigration would not be limited to the English. In time, ships of many nations would transport immigrants, much as they would carry cargo for trade.

The characteristics of the American population were shaped by social, political, and economic factors. Political and religious alliances changed periodically in England and Europe. Groups in disfavor tended to emigrate. Empty space aboard trading vessels resulted in relatively low fares and a relatively high volume of immigration. Immigration drastically slowed, however, whenever conditions in America were economically difficult.

Immigration occurred in distinct phases. The earliest was English. Throughout most of the 1600s approximately eighty percent of the colonial population was English. But conditions in England changed, and, by the early 1800s, English immigration had begun to decrease. It was replaced during the late 1600s and 1700s by immigration from northern and western Europe.

The largest group of immigrants--some 300,000 in the 1700s--were the Scotch-Irish (Lowland Scots who had settled in northern Ireland). The second largest group, the Germans, also immigrated in large numbers during the 1700s. Immigrants in smaller numbers included Highland Scots, French Huguenots, Welsh, Jews, and Swiss, among others. The wealthiest and best-educated were probably the French Huguenots, followed by the Highland Scots. Most of the immigrants of the 1700s, however, were poor and uneducated.

The direct effect of immigration during this period was territorial expansion, including settlement of wilderness areas. Agriculture, industry, and trade increased. The period was generally one of consolidation: new towns were built, old ones continued to grow, and there was an increasing sense of colonial unity.

Immigration continued into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with massive immigration by the Irish. Figure 3 shows the large influx of immigrants between 1850

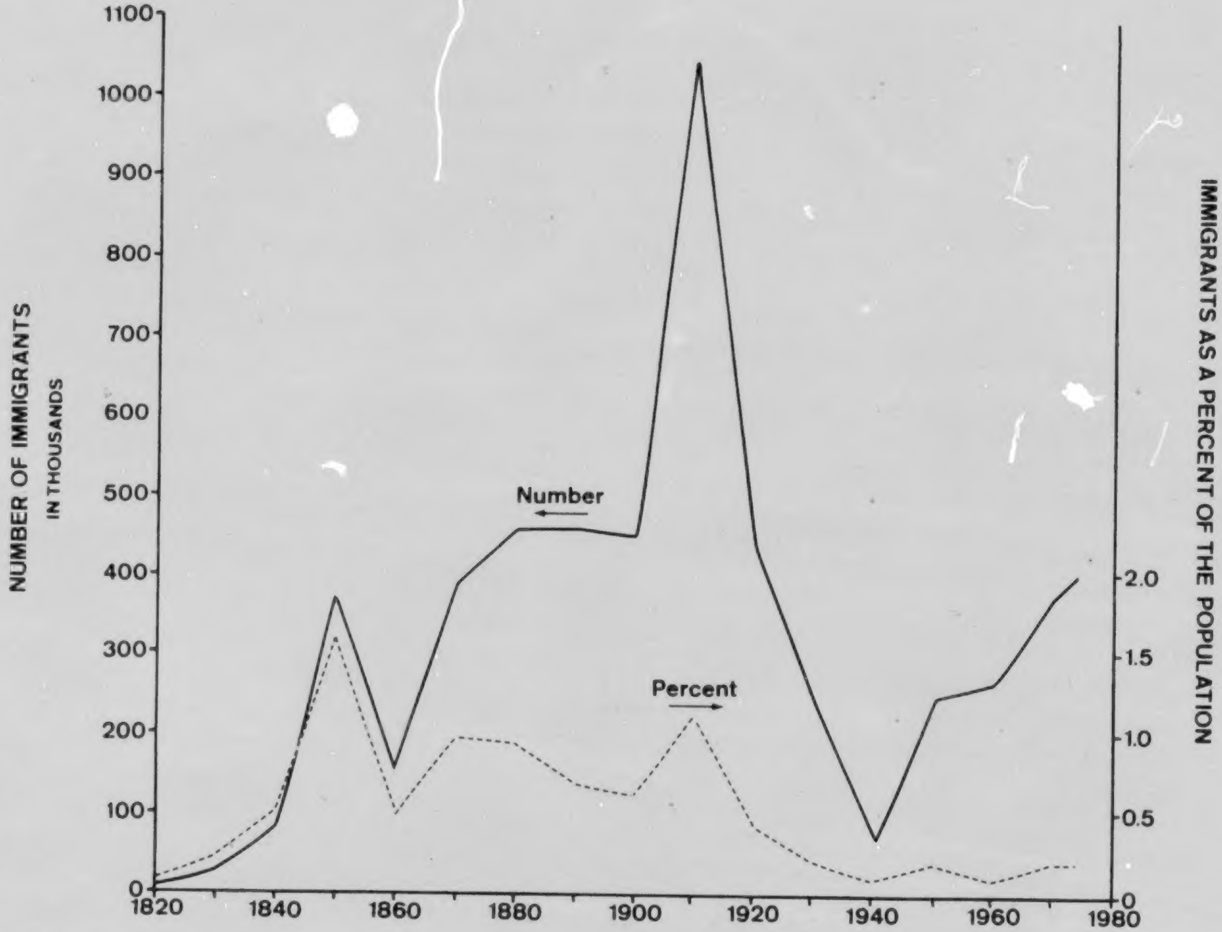

Figure 3 Immigration in the United States: 1820-1974

and 1920. During this period, large numbers of southern and eastern Europeans arrived in America. Cultural differences often set the southern and eastern Europeans apart from the earlier groups, and there were substantial language and economic barriers for new immigrants. This influx coincided with a period of economic change in the United States, and, by the end of the 1800s, there was resistance to unlimited immigration. In 1924, this resistance was codified in the National Origins Act, which eliminated immigration by Asians and established quotas which favored northern and western Europeans.

Language, skills, and culture appear to have had a profound effect on the status of immigrants after they reached the United States. Illiteracy was relatively low among the western and northern Europeans. Immigrants during the largest influx--mostly eastern and southern Europeans--were often illiterate and they became overrepresented among the semi- and unskilled workers. They contributed to a pool of unskilled, inexpensive labor, tended to live in urban slum areas, and were economically exploited.

Lack of education and skills placed both recently freed Blacks and some European groups at a disadvantage, and they did not share the same degree of upward mobility as the early immigrants. Economic conditions were critical factors, and, then as well as now, have shaped the characteristics of our society. They have governed immigration patterns, the legislative and judicial processes, and the status of persons within our society.

The increasing demand for labor resulted in slavery. American Indians proved unreliable because they escaped too easily or were decimated by disease. Whites, who were Christians and often protected by constituencies, were implausible candidates. Blacks, in contrast, were "different" and were vulnerable.

The first Blacks in this country were not slaves. Racial inferiority was not imputed to them and they were included in the early exploration parties. The first party of Blacks landed in 1619 before the Mayflower, and, initially, Blacks and Whites had equal legal status. During this period, both Blacks and Whites owned servants. Blacks were enslaved throughout the western hemisphere, however, and in some countries were the majority and the free population the minority. In the North American colonies, laws facilitating slavery were passed as early as 1641 (in Massachusetts) and were passed elsewhere over the next 100 or so years. The Moslems, who had been taking Black slaves for centuries, were joined in the slavery enterprise by Christian Europe, despite widespread criticism.

Widely marketed, slaves could be bought with small down payments on convenient credit terms. They were available through mail order or local retail outlets, which also might handle White servants. Washington, D.C., was a popular market place until shortly before the Civil War. Not all Blacks in the United States, however, were slaves. Regional differences and trends in the percent of Blacks who were slaves are shown in Figure 4.

Much controversy exists about the quality of conditions for slaves, but conditions fo[illegible]dren in slavery were clearly disadvantageous. The kidnapping of slaves was opportunistic: they were often kidnapped individually, rather than as family units. Slave family units--if they existed--were often destroyed through sales; parents might be separated from one another or from their children, and siblings might be separated. On plantations, the function of raising children was often centralized, with one woman designated the responsibility for child rearing. Poorly housed, clothed, and under-nourished, children were sent into the fields as young as age six. They, as children of slaves and slaves themselves, grew up without rights and, typically, without formal education or opportunities beyond those offered on the plantation.

The American Revolution produced a new nation in 1776. Nominally a single nation, it's slaves revolted for the same principles that fostered the American Revolution. Slavery in the United States was abolished in 1865 with the ending of the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment.

The demand for labor, however, did not abate with the abolition of slavery. Labor demand contributed to the immigration of Oriental and Spanish groups. Chinese immigration, as well as the immigration of southern and

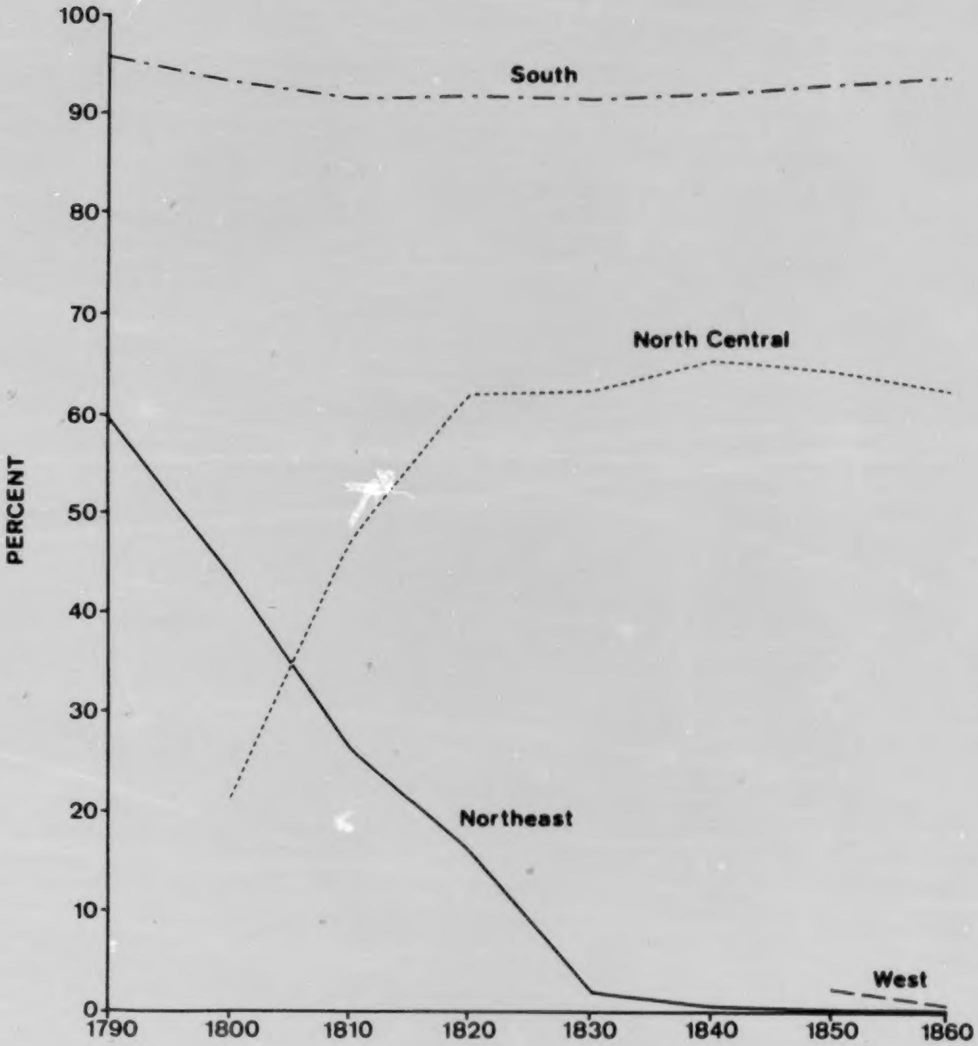

Figure 4 Slaves as a Percent of Black Population: 1790-1860

eastern Europeans, peaked during the late 1880s. From 1852 to 1882, some 300,000 Chinese immigrated, primarily to western portions of the United States. Mostly farmers, laborers, and merchants, they were lured there by gold and industrial opportunities. Most of the immigrants were males, who intended to return to China; few brought their wives. Like their European counterparts, they were typically young, industrious, and thrifty. Chinese immigration was curtailed by the Exclusion Act of 1882.

Japanese immigration began in the 1880s at approximately the time Chinese immigration ended. The Japanese were welcome until they became competitive with American workers. Resistance began about 1900, when there were less than 25,000 Japanese in the United States. Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese tended to emigrate as family units. Early immigration restrictions did not exclude women, and there was a rapid increase in the Japanese population. The alarm caused by the Japanese increase was one impetus to the Exclusion Act of 1924, which curtailed immigration by Orientals.

The demand for labor continued to rise. The exclusion of Orientals contributed directly to increased immigration from Mexico. For example, it prompted the active recruiting of Mexicans as unskilled laborers by the railroads. By 1908, approximately 1,000 per month were recruited. Recruiting peaked a few years later, just prior to the outbreak of World War I. Many Mexicans also entered the United States because of railroad and agricultural interests, and because immigration requirements for Mexicans were eased in 1917, again in 1918, and continued to ease until 1920. During that period, some 150,000 Mexicans entered the United States--of whom approximately two-thirds entered illegally. As a result of the wartime economy, many Mexicans left the Southwest and entered industry. Mexican immigration slowed during the Depression. In 1950, an effort was made to curb illegal entry by Mexicans. In response to the demands for labor, however, Bracero programs (between 1942 and 1964) brought seasonal workers into the United States.3/ There has

3/ The Bracero programs were implemented through joint efforts of the Mexican and United States governments to provide seasonal employment for Mexicans in the United States. From 1942 through 1947, approximately 250,000 Mexican nationals entered the United States, while during the second period, 1948 through 1964, 4.5 million Mexican nationals entered the United States.

been a constant flow, back and forth over the Mexico-United States border, but, gradually, those workers remaining year-round formed the nuclei of today's Mexican-American communities.

On the East Coast, Puerto Ricans entered the migrant labor force, much as the Mexicans did in the Southwest. As citizens, Puerto Ricans (as opposed to Mexican Nationals) migrate freely between the Island and the mainland. The migrant flow along the East Coast began about 1940, but workers received unfavorable treatment. In 1937 and 1948, legislation was passed in Puerto Rico regulating the recruitment of farm workers. A percentage of the Puerto Ricans elected to stay on the mainland for a relatively long period, leading to rapid growth of the Puerto Rican population beginning in the early 1950s.

Immigrants increased the labor force and added to an already rapidly growing population. The result, prior to 1900, was enormous pressure on the American Indian population. On the West Coast, the population grew at the expense of the American Indians. On the East Coast, American Indians were coerced in the 1830s to move west of the Mississippi to "Indian territory." The rights of the American Indians to those lands were supposedly assured, but were quickly violated. Settlers and immigrant groups heading west swept across those lands, and some settled in areas supposedly under the American Indian control.

At first, the American Indian nations were strong relative to the colonists, but their strength was slowly eroded by continuing battles and skirmishes spanning from the Colonial period through most of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the destruction of General Custer's regiment occurred only 100 years ago, in 1876. Although the fighting probably killed many more Whites than American Indians, the death rate among the latter from European diseases was extraordinarily high. Epidemics among American Indians began at least as early as the 1600s and ran through the 1800s. Disease cleared the coastal areas for some of the earliest colonists and advanced ahead of the settlers in their move to the West.

The American Indians were dependent upon European nations for support and materials, which were often crucial to military strategies. Following the Revolutionary War, European countries, not wishing to offend the United States, offered less than full support to the Indian nations. For example, when England ceded land to the United States, there was no recognition of Indian rights to lands that they occupied.

Indians ceded land through treaties; but even the land they legally held was violated. The flow of settlers continued unabated, and the rights of the Indian nations generally were ignored. Individual states failed to protect Indians or to ensure their rights, resulting in increased dependency by the Indians upon the federal government. Destruction of the ecology by settlers and a gradual circumscription of "Indian territories" deprived the hunters of game, and Indian nations began to poach on one another's land. Indian reservations were not created only after a long series of treaties, understandings, and agreements were made--and violated. Reservations evolved in order to provide minimal protection for the rights of Indian nations, and despite obvious inequities and drawbacks, at least acknowledged the rights of Indian nations to retain land and to support themselves. The reservations, however, also marked the end of the seminomadic lives of many tribes, as well as the end of many cultural traditions. Reform movements in the early 1900s led to some improvements in conditions on the reservations. In recent years, mortality (including both maternal and infant) and morbidity rates have fallen, approaching overall U.S. rates in some instances.

These immigration patterns help explain who came to America, how they were received and treated, and how they affected the native Americans. The conditions of these groups in terms of mortality, health, education and income are presented as historical trends up to the present on the following pages.

Trends in Mortality and Health

The major component of population growth has been through birth and natural population increases. The early population grew despite high infant mortality and morbidity rates and low life expectancies.

The most reliable pre-1900 infant mortality data available are for Massachusetts only. Reliable data for the nation as a whole were not collected until the early 1900s. The Massachusetts data indicate that infant mortality remained high throughout the nineteenth century, but began to fall at the turn of the century (see Figure 5). These data may be suggestive of national trends, since post-1900 Massachusetts and national estimates are generally in close agreement.

A similar pattern may be indicated by data collected on maternal mortality dating from 1915. As Figure 5 indicates, maternal mortality was high during the first part of the twentieth century and appears to have fluctuated somewhat before beginning a steady decline. This figure suggests that the decline in maternal mortality may have lagged behind that of infant mortality, because the drop in infant mortality indicated in Figure 5 occurred around 1890, whereas a drop in maternal mortality (Figure 6) did not occur until well into the twentieth century.

Existing evidence reveals that mortality rates for some components of the general population may have started falling sooner than either infant or maternal mortality, anticipating the decline in infant mortality by perhaps one or two generations. Again, data from Massachusetts are illustrative; data for selected age groups are shown in Figure 5. Death rates for persons 20-29 years old were decreasing as early as 1865 and continued to decline steadily thereafter. In the five-to-nine-year-old group, the death rate began to decline as early as 1875. Although older age groups did not necessarily display similar decreases, Figures 5 and 6 substantiate that declines in infants and maternal mortality lagged behind declines for certain other age groups.

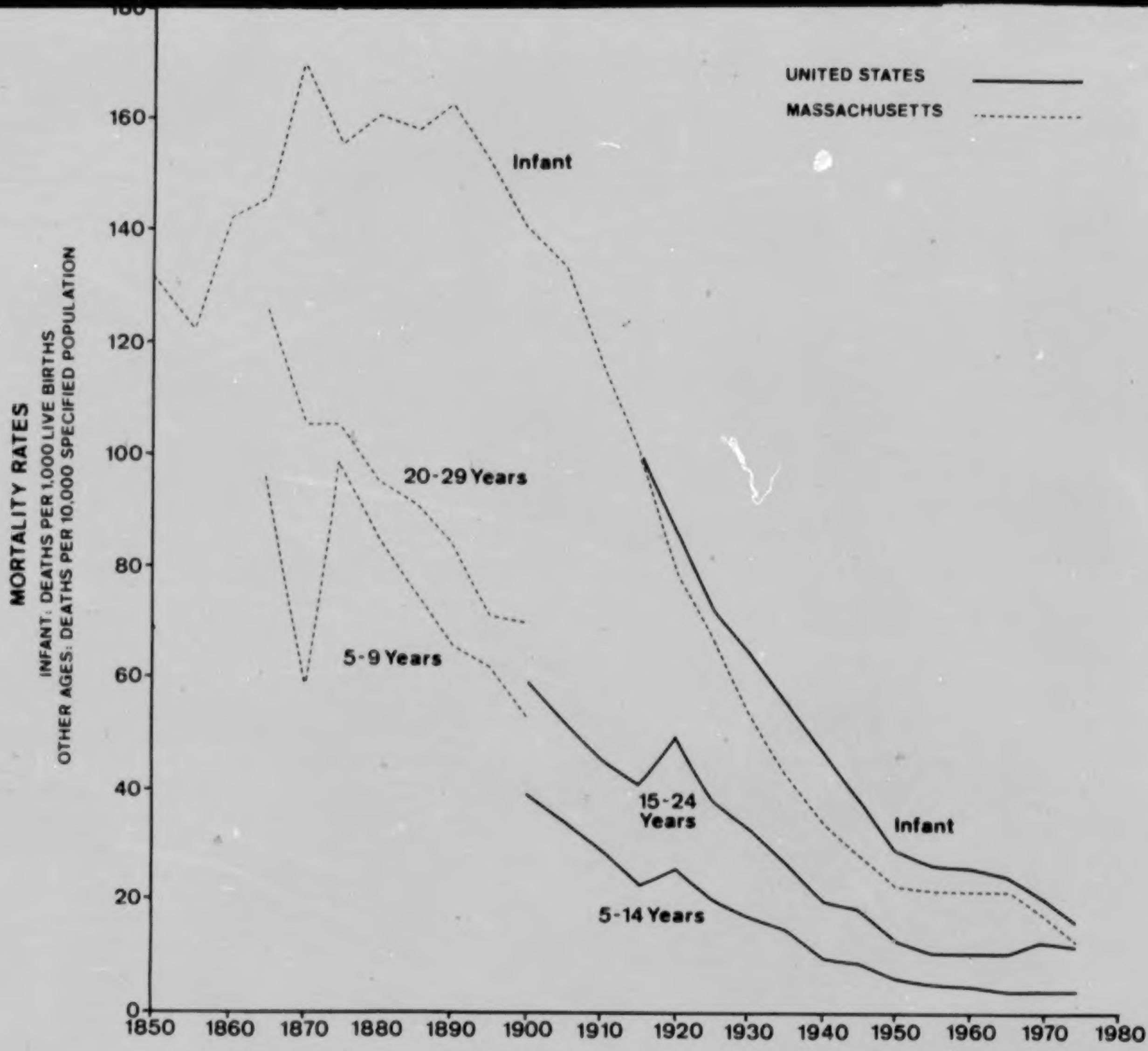

Figure 5 Mortality Rates for Infants and Selected Age Groups: 1850-1974

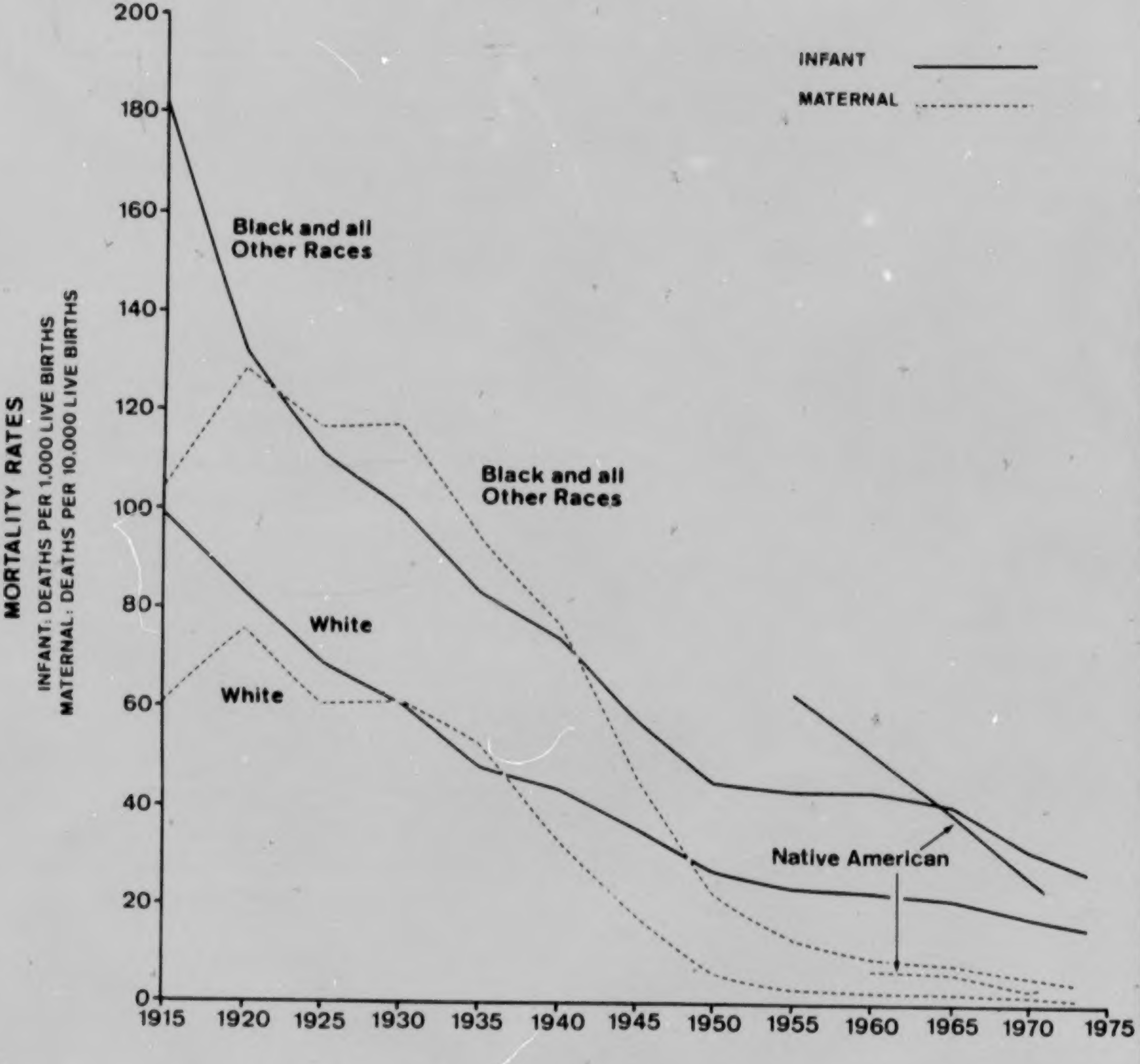

Figure 6 Infant and Maternal Mortality: 1915-1974

Data for deaths from disease (which reflect infant deaths as well as deaths in the general population) reveal approximately the same trends as the infant and maternal mortality data. Figure 7 shows deaths from selected diseases. Once again, the earliest usable data are from Massachusetts and are reported back to 1860. Data for the nation as a whole are indicated from 1900 on. Despite some fluctuations, these data are compatible with the conjecture that rates were high throughout the nineteenth century, falling systematically only in the twentieth century. Elimination of infectious diseases among infants, children, and youth directly reduced infant mortality.

Although data are generally lacking, Sydenstricker, et.al. (1934), Wigglesworth (1937), and the United States Public Health Service (1934) provide estimates for the late eighteenth century. Death rates were estimated at 30 per 1,000 for White, and 70 per 1,000 for slaves, according to Boston burial records. Figure 8 shows how estimated mortality rates have declined since the 1800s. Of course, death rates directly affect life expectancy; early data for two cities are shown, as well as post-data since 1900 for Blacks and Whites. One estimate placed life expectancy for White males at birth at 35 years in the 1880s. In 1880, life expectancy at birth was estimated at 40 years in Massachusetts; in certain cities in other states, the expectancy was below 34 years. Estimates for non-White males were in the low 20s. The congruence between these data and earlier estimates suggests that the increase in life expectancy is relatively recent, much of it occurring in the last 100 years. Of course, much of the increase is directly attributable to the decline in infant mortality. Moreover, infant mortality rates can partially account for the differences in life expectancy between non-Whites and Whites, both historically and at present. Figure 5 showed the convergence between infant mortality rates for non-Whites, and Figure 9 shows large increases in life expectancy at birth. Although overall mortality rates are lower for non-Whites than for Whites, relatively higher infant mortality among non-Whites lowers their life expectancy to less than that of Whites; that is, Whites, relative to non-Whites, have a higher survival rate in infancy, but a lower survival rate in later years.

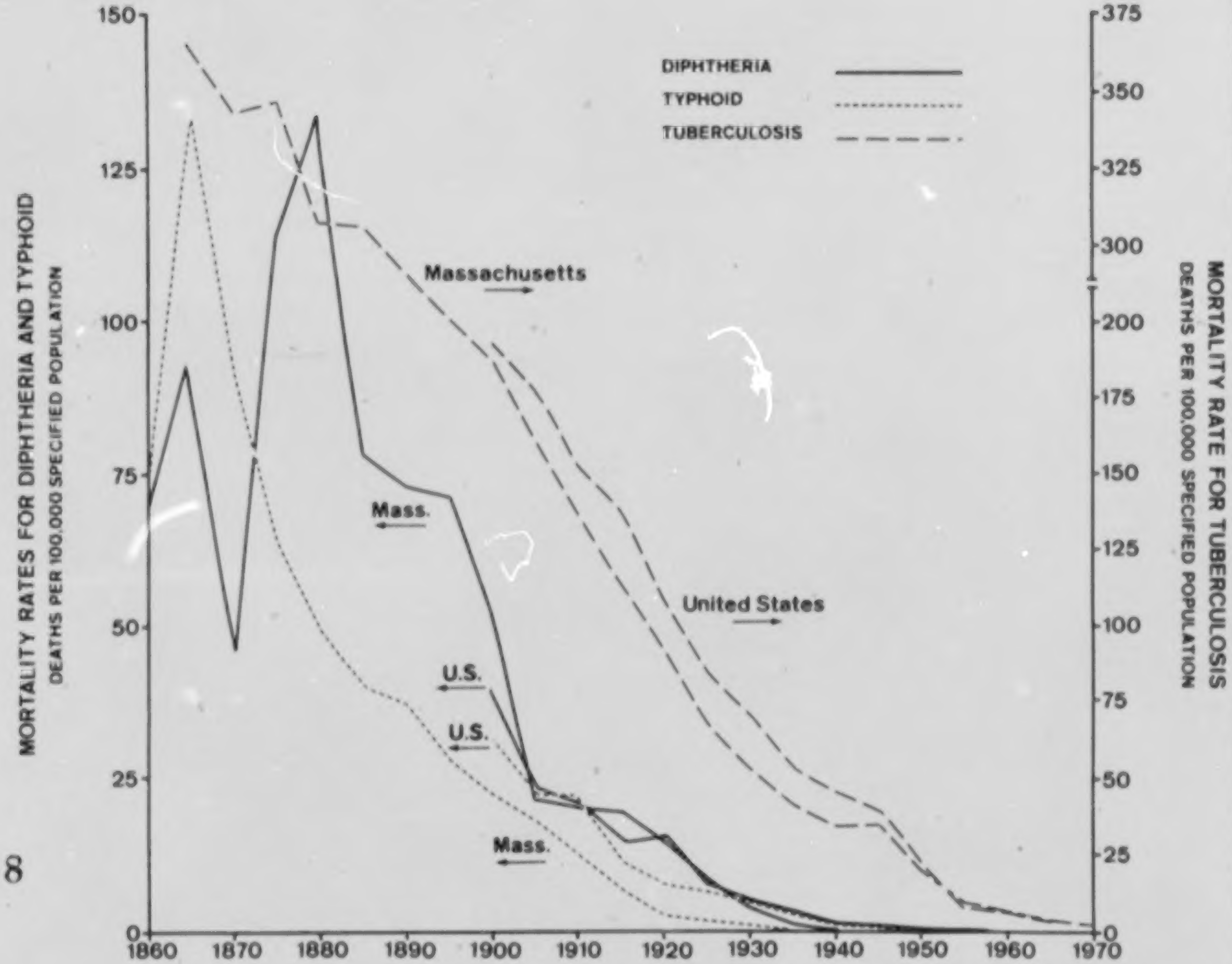

Figure 7 Mortality Rates for Selected Diseases: 1860-1970

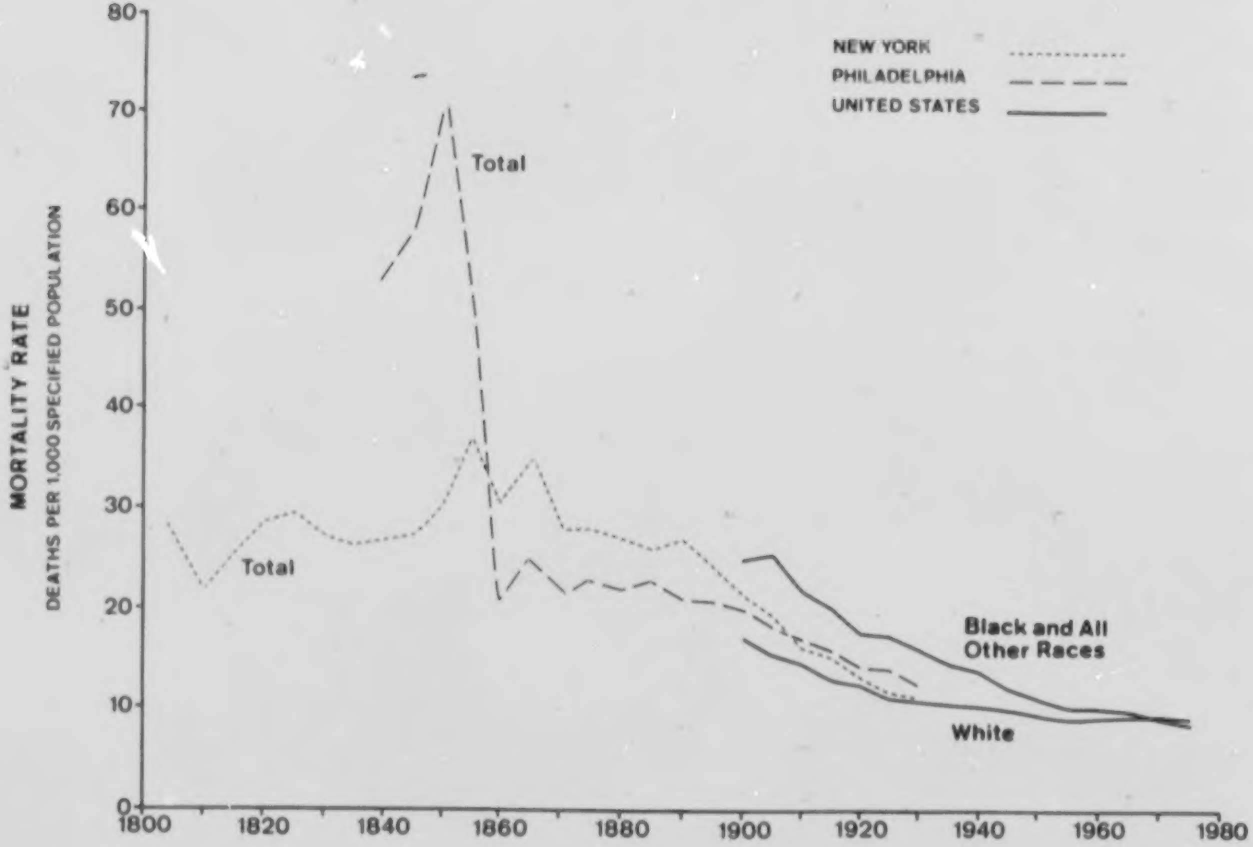

Figure 8 Mortality Rates for the United States and Selected Cities: 1804-1974

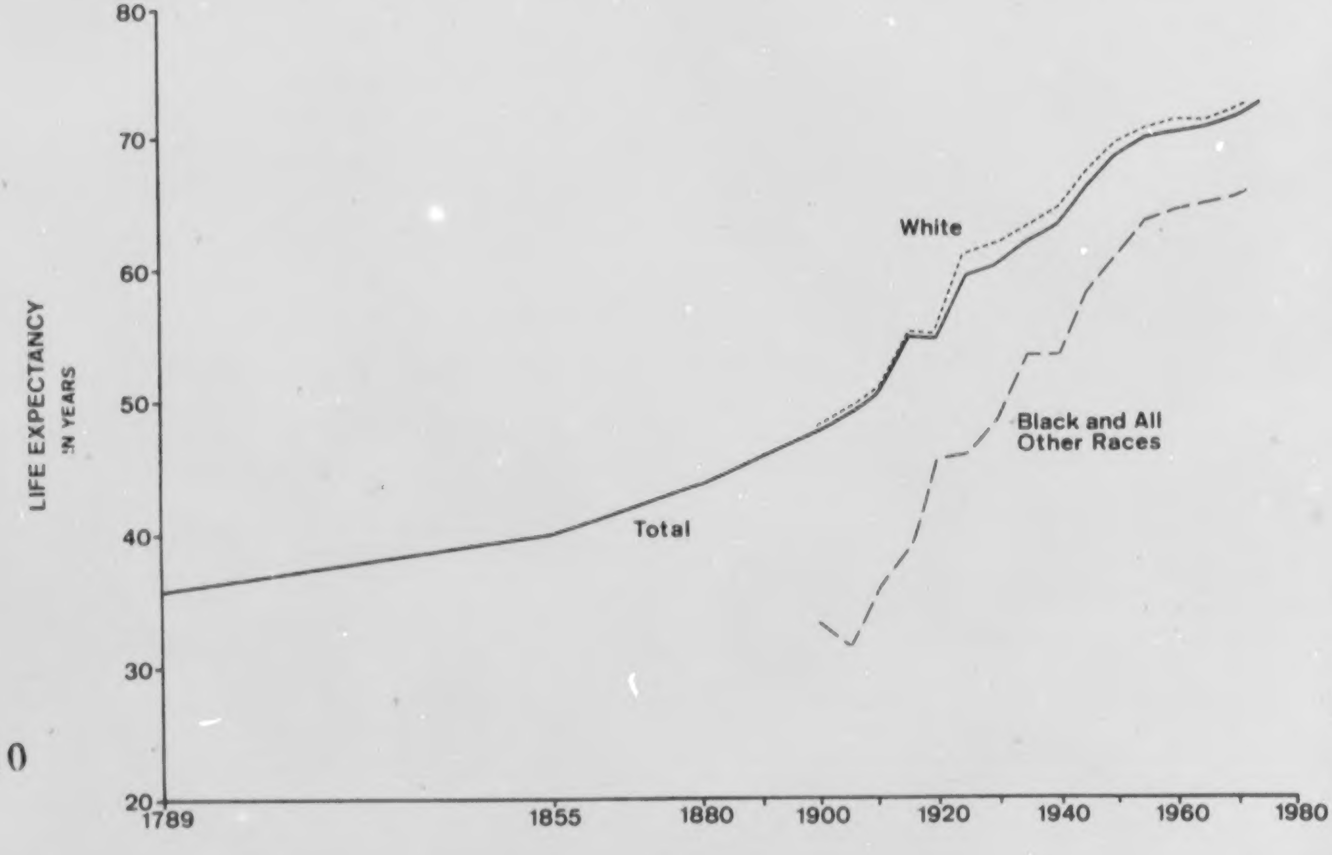

Figure 9 Life Expectancy at Birth: 1789-1974

Trends in Education

Most education statistics include only the more recent years, but even so they indicate some significant changes.

School enrollment rates for Blacks have lagged behind those of Whites, but have risen for both groups. Present enrollment rates for Blacks, Whites, and those of Spanish origin are nearly equal. There is a continuing trend for dropout rates to fall and a tendency to stay in school longer. Accordingly, there has been a systematic increase in the median number of school years completed. Figure 10 indicates how enrollment rates and median number of school years completed have tended to become more equal.

In higher education, the percentage of Whites (18-24 years old) attending college has declined, while the percentage of Blacks has increased, although differences still exist. Between 1970 and 1974, percentages for Whites have changed from 27% to 24%; for Blacks from 15% to 18%.

At the turn of the century, illiteracy rates were equally high among native non-Whites and the new immigrants, but have systematically fallen. Figure 11 shows the trend towards lowering and equalization of illiteracy rates.

Trends in Income

Substantial differences remain between the incomes of Blacks and Whites. Figure 12, however, indicates that the trend has been for the median income of Blacks to increase faster than the median income of Whites. This trend has continued into the 1970s, although it was slowed, or possibly reversed, by the recession. Related data shown in Figure 13 indicate that although the percentage of Whites below the poverty level dropped more rapidly than the percentage of Blacks prior to 1966, the rate of change appears to have been almost the same for both groups since then and abating for all groups.

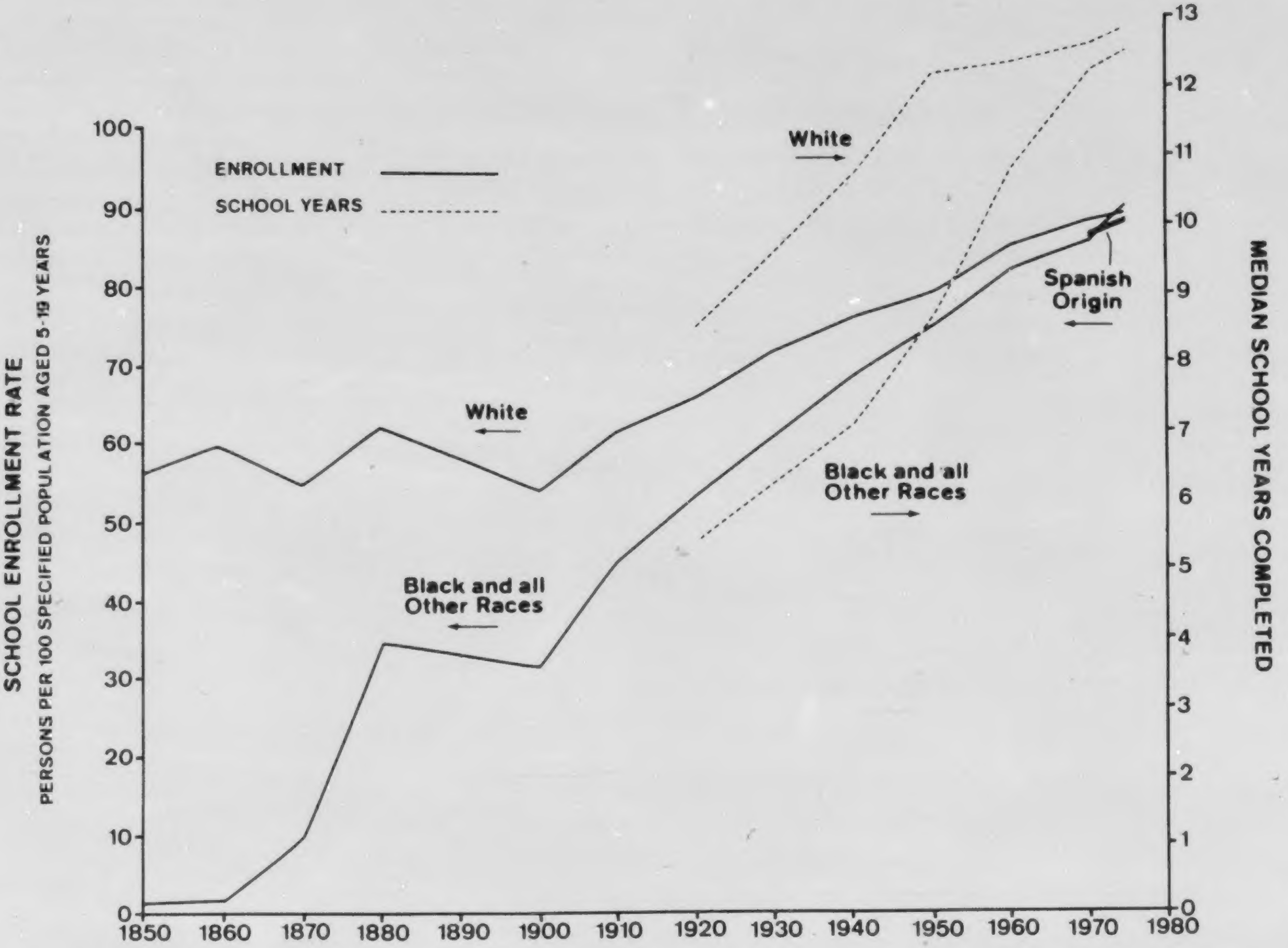

Figure 10 School Enrollment and Median School Years Completed: 1850-1974

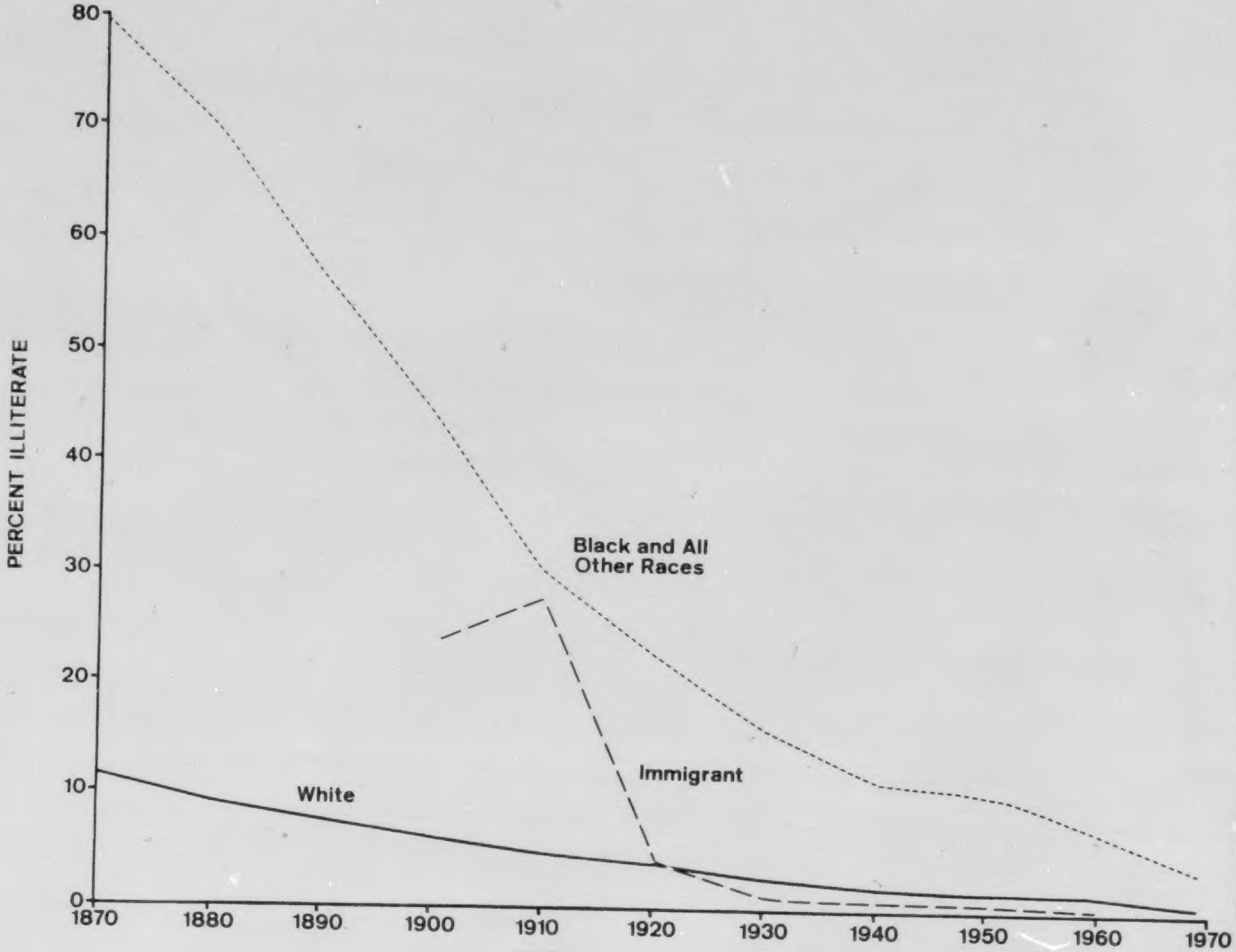

Figure 11 Illiteracy Among Resident and Immigrant Populations: 1870-1969

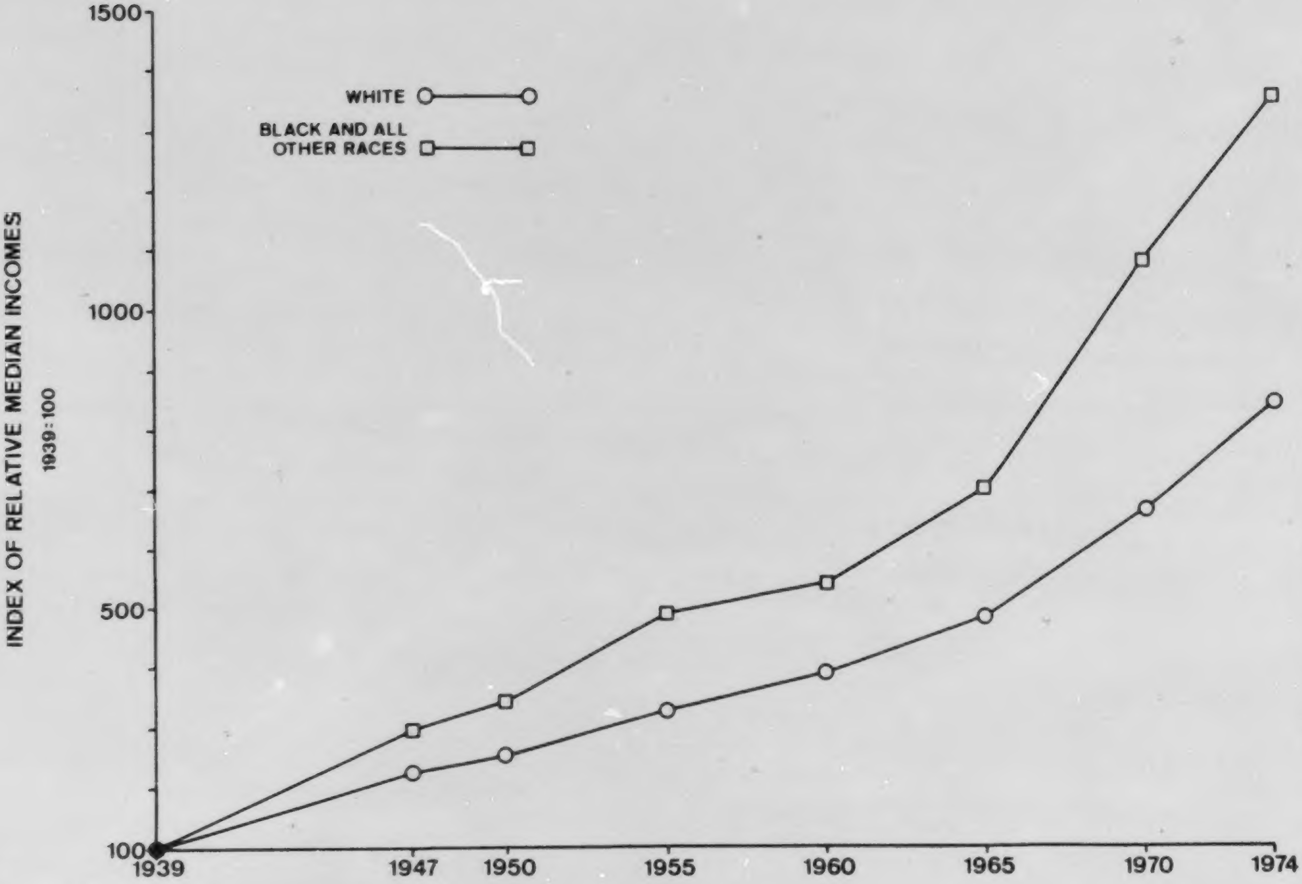

Figure 12 Index of Median Incomes of Families and Unrelated Individuals: 1939-1974

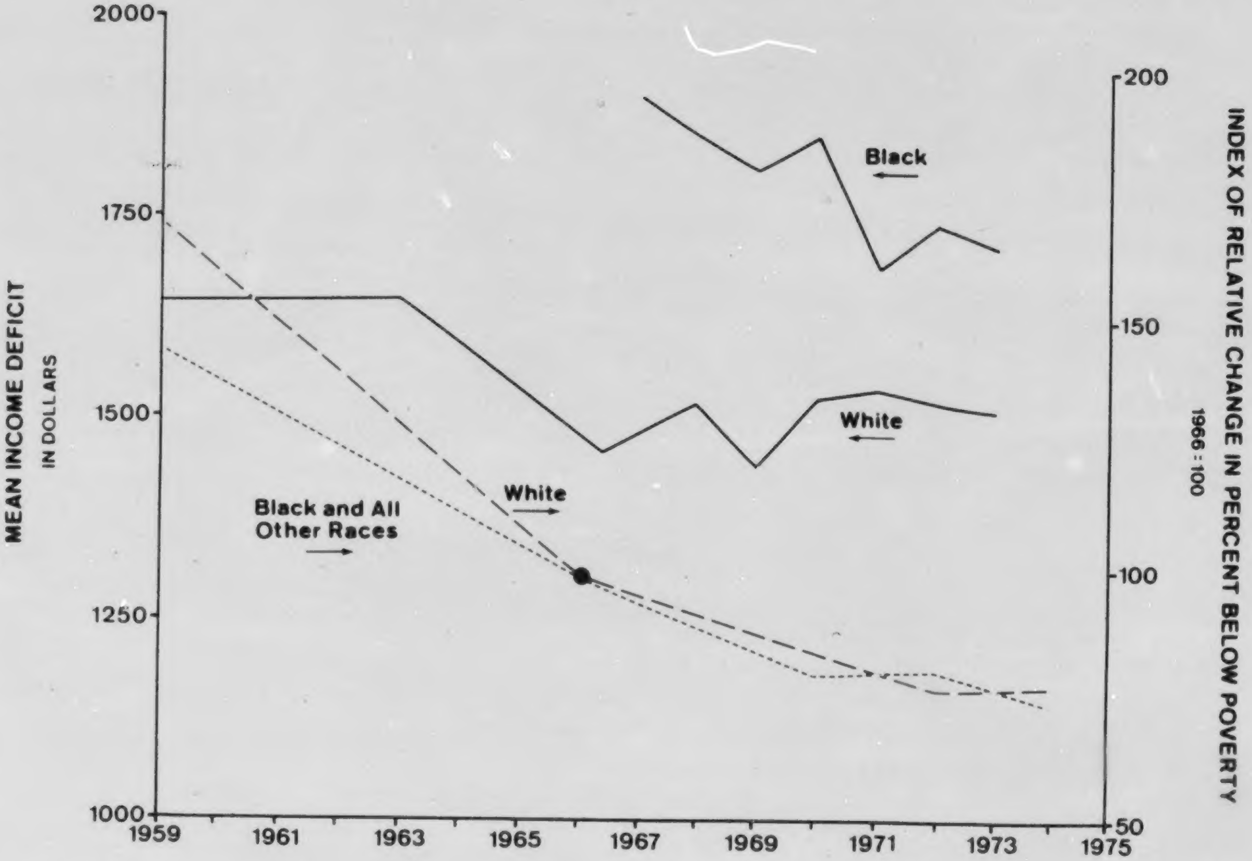

Figure 13 Index of Relative Decrease in Percent Families Below Poverty and Mean Income Deficit: 1959-1974

The Next 100 Years?

Conditions in our history have been extremely harsh by contemporary standards. Available statistics are inadequate to characterize these conditions, either for the population as a whole or for various sub-populations.

For example, less than 100 years ago, mortality and life expectancies were shocking, compared to their respective levels today. Health care and educational opportunities were typically for the few. Moreover, the periodically faltering economy resulted in recurring periods during which much of the population experienced profound want and misery and, even into this century, a time when hard-won gains were lost. Discrimination has undoubtedly exacerbated the effects of these conditions for some groups.

Discrimination against minority groups has stemmed from economic causes, especially when they threatened the economic well-being or autonomy of established groups, or during periods of hardship. Often motivated by such economic factors and fears, discrimination was successively practiced against each new group of immigrants and against Blacks, both during and after slavery.

Thus the present is shaped by a peculiar contradiction of 200 years ago, at which time a nation declared its citizens to be free, but nevertheless failed to free its own slaves. It is also shaped by less dramatic, but persistent, forms of discrimination that have extended into the present century. Although discrimination was often motivated by economic factors, it did cause critical health, educational, and social repercussions. It is often hard to understand how profound and widespread the effects of discrimination must have been, or how enduring the patterns of disadvantage established thereby. It is difficult, if not impossible, to measure these effects. Available statistics are not entirely adequate, for a number of reasons. Tabulation of data for separate ethnic groups is a fairly recent innovation, although data typically span no more than two or three decades. Also, the data only pertain to certain aspects of the human condition.

The impact of discrimination, that unwelcome artifact of the past, is probably the most important social factor today and affects every aspect and sector of our society. While there has been modest progress towards improving conditions, including those attributable to discrimination and its effects, there is no assurance that such progress will continue into the future. Unfortunately, these social issues are often thought of as competitors of problems that are essentially technological, such as energy, pollution, and the economy.

Although we must recognize that these technological factors impact powerfully upon the human condition, we must avoid equating our national social priorities with them. Technological progress is not a guarantor of social change and improvement. In fact, much can be done to improve the conditions of children, youth, and the family without benefit of major technological change. Legitimate practicable goals exist, although we may appear to lack a forum, the fortitude, or both, to address them.

Many authors during the Bicentennial year, no less than those during the Centennial year, have invited their readers to look forward over "the next 100 years." We are fortunate that our society has the potential to effect some modest social change and improvement. Hopefully, we will seize the opportunity now, without burdening the future with the artifacts of our past and the indecision of our present.

Chapter II

Historical Trends in American Family Behavior
An Essay

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To write a history of the American family in these few pages is a manifest impossiblity and would not be attempted by any family historian. The current writer is not a family historian but rather a specialist on the family, who because of personal interests, and some considerable time for observation and reflection has been encouraged to make this attempt. The Bicentennial celebrating 200 years of living as a nation, provides a welcome opportunity for assessment and allows for a broader perspective than those ordinarily used in our very contemporary mode of living.

A young relative was assisting me in reading some of the secondary sources used as background. When I asked for her overall reaction, she remarked that two things had been especially impressive: the way nothing had really changed, and, how difficult it was to see what the family was really like. These comments seemed to me to provide important themes, to be discussed at greater length. Can we picture what the family is like? What is the same, what has changed, and do any of these themes give us guides for the present, or reassurance for the future?

In one sense there is no history of "the family". Individual families have histories, but American families are so diverse that common patterns are difficult to discern, and when presented as average age at marriage, average number of children, divorce rates and other population statistics, we find that we have lost the sense of texture which would give us some idea of the values and feelings of the people we are attempting to describe.

In 1776, at the time of the Revolution, there had already been some 170 years of existence of American families. The three million people present might be said to have little in common. The frontier farmers were democratically inclined but not the plantation and business aristocracy. Nationalities present included English, Scots, Irish, German, French, Dutch, Swedes, Jews, and Africans. Religions represented included Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Anglican, Huguenots, Lutherans, Mennonites, Dunkers, Baptists, Catholics, Dutch Reform, German Reform and Quakers. There was no common language or set of customs. There was an accepted view of morality and basic agreement on religious doctrine. All except the Africans were European, from the Judeo-Christian tradition, and the family systems were much alike in spite of differing detail. Gradually, English became the dominant language at least for business and government, so that this and the family were unifying principals.

Our knowledge of early families is rather limited. Arthur W. Calhoun wrote an extensive Social History of the American Family which relies on letters, diaries, newspaper accounts, legislation, church records and similar documents. More recent scholarship also reviews the census household enumerations, the wills probated, or studies the birth, marriage and death records, linking the records of individual families. Personnel records of some companies also reflect family behavior and values. And most recently, elderly people are interviewed at length about their earlier experiences.

I will present a very few examples of family behaviors, with the understanding that these are isolated samples which cannot represent the real diversity which has always existed.

Now, as to the second emphasis, how can one say that nothing has really changed?

Partly, this relates to the human condition. One can amass a collection of quotations going back as far as written records in regard to the unreliability of the younger generation. We have always had the same general tasks and concerns. But more specifically the American scene has from the very beginning had change and challenge which has required that families adapt with rapidity.

By successive stages the size of the country is now four times what it was at the time of the Revolution. The three million population has grown to well over two hundred million. The diversity of nationalities can hardly be listed. In addition to the War of the Revolution, there have been eight wars, one of them a devastating Civil War in which the casualties of the winning northern armies was almost 30% of those under arms. When we add to this periodic economic depressions, and the explosive growth of technology, it becomes more clear why the problems and concerns have in many ways remained constant. Whether sons and daughters moved West to stake out a homestead, or West to look for jobs in an aircraft factory, they were moving away and this great mobility is perhaps the most constant factor in American family life.

However, there are differences. The westward settlement of the country was a period of almost unlimited expansion, with large numbers of children a highly positive value. By the end of the first hundred years, this expansion was largely accomplished, and the second major trend from rural agricultural to urban industrialized living was well begun. The country that was 95% rural in 1900, was 95% urban in 1970. The very high value of children in quantity has been sharply reduced. The needs for extended education to be competent in the industrial socity set a new pattern of concern and responsibility both for families and for the larger community.

This change in family values and behavior in regard to children took place on the individual family level well before it was recognized or approved on the official level. For instance, a recent study of census and birth records in New York's Hudson valley shows that as early as between 1800 and 1860 the number of children per family was reduced almost half what it had been prior to 1800 and this change, while less marked in the rural village than it was in more urban areas, did occur in both situations.

This example illustrates the single most important point I wish to make. Families act on decisions made from limited but personally relevant information. They do not wait for social or statistical analysis. Next to maintaining itself economically and socially, the most obvious task a family faces is rearing its children and establishing them in adult roles. If the family recognizes that it will be difficult to provide land, education or whatever is needed, an attempt will be made to do something different within the limits of their values and knowledge. Later ages of marriage, especially for girls, and the use of techniques not considered efficient in the modern era were nevertheless sufficient to sharply reduce the number of children to limits for which the family and the local community could expect to provide.

Individuals and families may not be entirely aware of the basis for these decisions. It merely becomes unfashionable to marry so young. The standards of the community may dictate a larger wedding and this means that the son or daughter must wait until after next year's harvest is over, or until the young man and his bride have worked several years to have enough savings to establish a home.

In the most recent era, the ease of moving into marriage encouraged by a general period of prosperity, and the advanced technology of birth control, permitted a period of early marriage and early though limited size families, but with such stress that divorce has become alarmingly common.

It is always risky to make predictions, but this phase also seems to be self correcting, into a pattern of unmarried cohabitation with a distinctly later age at marriage, and a very limited number of children who can receive careful rearing and relatively extensive education.

The following brief description of some aspects of colonial family life indicates an era when control was planful on the family level and enforced by the authority of the head of the family.

Andover, Massachusetts was settled in the 17th century by about forty men and their families. Intensive studies of the early records of births, death, wills and other public records give us a partial picture of some of their life patterns and values.

The first settlers received allocations of 100 to 600 acres. Life was good, birth rates were high, children were wanted and needed for the extensive farm labor. But, over half of these "first" families had five or more sons who must have land or a trade in order to marry and establish themselves. In consequence, the fathers delayed the marriages of their sons until the average age of marriage of 27. Girls married earlier, between 18 and 25. The average was around 22, not much different from today.

The records do not give the reasoning but we can infer it from the pattern. Sons at marriage were given the use of land, but rarely was it legally theirs until the death of the father. Since the fathers were long lived (most lived beyond 70) men might not come into real owership until they were 40 or older, and unlikely to strike out for the west.

In consequence, stable extended families were established, each son with his own household but all still under the economic control of the father. These first fathers provided relatively well, and most sons stayed in the community although more land was available by moving West. However, the continued longevity and high fertility insured that such control could not be continued, and the next generation was forced to allow some sons to move West because the land could not be further sub-divided and still be able to provide a living for all.

What was it like to live then? Did sons resent their dependency? A style or pattern was clearly established and furnishes the content of one of our common myths about the early New England patriarchal family. Such families did exist but the high birth rate, so much a positive value, also insured that their children and their values would spread west, and certainly assisted in the rapid settlement of the continent. But in the longer run, the extended patriarchal family has not survived.

The Andover pattern contrasts rather sharply with a comment quoted by Calhoun about life on the Kentucky frontier in 1826. ...."as soon as a young fellow had gathered a few dollars, seldom over $100, he thought of marriage. The wedding gift to a son consisted of a horse, farm implements and seed. A girl received a bed, a cow, kitchen utensils, clothes chest, table and chairs. The young man procured a hundred acres of forest; relatives and neighbors put up a house and stable and in two or three years he was tolerably well fixed, for the pair were used to work."

This system allowed for marriage at a very early age for both sexes, believed to be as much as ten years younger than was common in Europe. Children were wanted, needed, and were produced with great regularity. As long as the frontier remained, it was possible for this pattern to continue, although the value of the land, the "problem" of Indians, and the abuses of land agents all served to make the success or survival of individual families problematic.

We can infer that the patriarchal authority on the frontier was much reduced as contrasted to what must have existed in Andover.

However, the country was not all rural. In settled areas, such as Salem, Massachusetts, a more complex pattern was established. Salem, by 1800, was a three class society. The wealthy merchant families used the extended family as the basis for their business, employing brothers, sons, nephews. They encouraged the marriages of cousins to conserve family capital. In addition since inheritance of sons was equal, brothers and other relatives were encouraged to remain in business together. The business, that of world trade, required people who could be trusted even if in Ceylon, or the Middle East. However, social and family costs were high. Many sons died on the risky voyages. In addition, the fact that families and businesses were in a sense contiguous meant that a business failure disrupted family relationships. On the community level, the highly competitive values set families into factions, which in the longer run allowed the more settled, less risk taking artisan families to establish political and social control. The merchant families, while involved in joint commercial ventures, usually established separate conjugal households, and sometimes followed patterns of "high" living not in accord with the earlier Puritan ethic of hard work and duty to God.

The artisan class, following the skilled trades, were more conservative of these values and more able to inculcate them in their children. Each head of household was responsible for the education and training of a group of apprentices, bound to him for a period of several years. All individuals were attached to some household as child, servant, apprentice or journeyman. A man's own sons were probably apprenticed out, to an uncle or friend. Relatives were favored in making these arrangements, but the system trained the young people rigorously in the values of hard work and piety. Adult status was reached only after the prescribed training period. Many of the young men married and moved into secure positions, but as in the Andover farm community, with the longevity of the elders, and the large numbers of children, a surplus of artisans was produced who joined the westward movement. These artisans carried the Puritan values into the midwest and south, became successful, and were an influence in the new communities.

The third group in Salem, the laborers, had both a "weak" (relatively unstable) family, and a very weak economic position, two factors which interacted. They were subject to exploitation, likely to die young, and were unable to establish their sons in the apprentice system, nor did these children receive the needed training in behavior which might enable them to receive the trust and acceptance of the established classes. In other words, they showed the characteristics we assocaite with our current "lower" class.

Thus far, the families have been presented largely as reacting to their environments. This they did do, but also it is important to recognize that the family values were important and influenced the patterns of decision and action. The Andover fathers may have been more fearful of allowing their sons to migrate but it seems doubtful if the availability of land was sufficient to explain their interest in establishing the extended family under partriarchal domination which made them differ so much from the frontier situation. However, there will be other, better examples of the interaction of family values with opportunity.

Environment does always establish some limits. The ultimate outside control of family life is to be seen in the black family as it attempted to exist under the conditions of slavery. The temporary, at-the-convenience-of-the-master, nature of the black family is well known, and is still today believed to be responsible for high levels of instability of the nation's black families.

However, some new research questions this accepted wisdom. Perhaps the question should be not "what did slavery do to the Afro-American family?" but rather "what did Afro-Americans do as slaves?" It is noted that the slaves came from too many different societies to be able to continue specific traditions. But they did have a common background of traditional society where kinship was very important. Thus, when their own kin were not available, they created unrelated people "Aunt" and "Uncle". After 1750, when the importation of slaves had largely ceased, a slave society was gradually established with many hundreds of interconnected kinship and friendship networks which stretched from plantation to plantation and from county to county. The individual conjugal family was unstable but the network of near and distant kin served to establish some stability and to provide for a wide pattern of self help. As one author sums it up, some owners treated their slaves well, and some treated them badly, but no matter how they were treated, they tended to form the same kind of families, which were in the tradition of African kinship groups.

Emancipation changed the pattern of stress but certinly did not reduce it. Consider an urban group, around the end of the 19th century. The years 1870 - 1910 was a period of rapid growth of black families in Boston, although they were still a small minorty of its total population. Over half of those present came from the rural south, and there were high proportions of illiterates, who for the most part were former slaves. However, real education was rare in the whole group. Some of the newcomers also came from Canada, and the West Indies, and others were from other cities such as Baltimore and Washington.

There was a belief that opportunities were better in the Boston area, and families came for this reason. However, the opportunity did not always develop, and outmigration was also common. In addition, opportunity such as that in Boston, must only emphasize its lack everywhere for the black citizen. Eight occupations: waiter, servant, cook, barber, laborer, porter, laundress and seamstress accounted for 74% of all employed blacks in 1880, although it is true that 6.5% males were employed in professional and white collar positions. Disparity with the also disadvantaged Irish is greatest in the skilled groups, where 20% of the Irish but only 7% of the blacks were so employed.

Housing and other living conditions were miserable. The death rate was higher than the birth rate, and tuberculosis and other contagious diseases were extremely common. The high urban death rates for both blacks and whites did not begin to fall until after 1900, but those for blacks were two to three times the white rates at all times.

However, in spite of very low occupational status, high mobility, high mortality and generally poor living conditions, the family structure of these Boston families was a standard conjugal or two parent family. Less than 20% of the households had a single parent head because of death or desertion of the mate. Those individuals who were born in the south were somewhat more likely to be in two parent or unbroken households, while those who were illiterate were somehwat more likely to be separated.

These findings are contradictory to arguments that it was urbanization which was/is responsible for the black single parent family. Between 1870 and 1910, at least the Boston black family did not differ from its white contemporary in this respect.

There is also evidence here that the more economically secure families had extended households, indicating that they were likely to be playing the role of assisting other relatives in adjusting to the urban conditions. This assistance was probably more limited than that reflected in the stories of some other immigrant groups but only because of the lack of control of resources. About 30% of the black families on all levels had boarders living with them. This reflects the need of the new comers for housing and would augment the income of the host families. It is thus a very adaptive pattern for the group and one common at this time for other migrating groups.

There is no direct information on age of marriage, or how young people were assisted in finding jobs or mates. We infer that the family assisted to the extent of its resources. Certainly they were concerned for their children and orphaned children were always taken in by relatives, not abandoned to the state charity.

Current arguments about "culture of poverty" and "black matriarchy" are being reconsidered in the light of these studies. In any case, one must conclude that the Afro-Aemrican family has been very successful and adaptative under extreme and difficult conditions.

For all American families, the conjugal family was or became the norm and while it did not lose its ties to its relatives nor cease to rely on them in time of need, the movement by family units permitted or encouraged certain patterns of industrial development.

Thus in 1815, "Dennis Rier hath this day engaged to come with his family to work in our factory on the following conditions. He is to have the following wages per week:

Himself	$5.00
Son, 10 years	.83
Daughter, 12 years	1.25
Son, 13 years	1.50
Son, 16 years	2.00
	$10.58

Sister	$2.33
Her daughter, 8 years	.75
Son, 13	1.50
	$4.58 "

One hundred years later, the records of New England cotton mills show that French Canadian immigrants to Manchester, New Hampshire, were still operating the mills on a family basis. The age of the children was higher, at least 16, and the family was not under a single contract. Analysis of these later records show that there was a mutual understanding between the corporation and the families employed. New workers were recruited by asking current workers to encourage their relatives to move to Manchester. When they came, the family assisted them in being hired in the most appropriate department, and helped to educate them to all of the special information they needed to know in order to establish themselves in the new milieu. While families lived mostly in conjugal units, they depended on the extended family in a variety of ways and the corporation allowed these family relationships to be influential in how the mills were run. Studies of the records show that the women were more temporary, leaving to have children and usually remaining out when the children were young. Since family and religious values disapproved the employment of women, thir work was always considered "temporary" even when it extended for years. Daughters remained at home and worked steadily until marriage and parents began to encourage them to delay marriage until their later 20's. Studies show that 95% of a girl's pay went into the family budget. Sons contributed less, but still probably 85%. Sons were also allowed or encouraged to move around to other jobs, to other factories in search of the best economic situation so that they could establish their own families. Thus, girls were subsidizing the economic advance of their brothers.

This system of work was retained until the 1930's, and is in some ways similar to the relationship of Japanese families to their industrial work. However, overall, the ability of the American family to place its children in work situations has declined in the 20th century except insofar as education is provided. This reduction of the family's influence has also reduced its ability to control its children.

The French Canadians pictured above are only one in a long list of immigrant family groups, and this is another major facet of American life and a major triumph of the society. Over the whole period, millions of new people have been accepted if not welcomed, and one by one, they have moved into the mainstream of American life. This was not done without much stress and hardship for the newcomers.

Prejudices and discriminations based on race, nationality and religion were the rule not the exception and are certainly still present in some degree.

A comparison of the lives of native born with two new groups, the Irish and the German in Buffalo, New York, around 1855 shows interesting similarities and differences. All had high birth rates, but the native born group had fewer children so that it is believed that they were consciously limiting their families. The Irish and German women tended to have a child every two years, the cycle common when children are breastfed.

The pattern of life can be compared in certain ways. Native born sons stayed home perhaps until 19. They would then leave home and board with another native born family, perhaps having just moved into the city to work, and would marry and establish their own households sometime in their later 20's. Once established, they might have relatives or boarders as well as children in the household but more rarely than other groups. They worked in the white collar, business and skilled trades, were distinctly the upper economic level of the city.

However, the pattern of life of German and Irish men was not markedly different. Almost all of the Irish were boarders, in Irish homes for a time, primarily as an immigrant pattern. They worked as laborers, and also established themselves in marriage by the late 20's, but frequently continued to board for a time before renting a separate house. They were, however, much more likely to have relatives live with them as they assisted them to get established in the city.

The German pattern differed from the Irish and native born in that the sons left early, by 16, to become apprenticed to a German master craftsman, and this nationality dominated the craft jobs. They married at about the same age as the others, in their later 20's and bought homes which were not much shared with either relatives or boarders.

Girls however, lived a different life pattern. The native born girls left home to marry. Only a few worked as domestics for a brief period between 16 and 20. They began to marry at 19, and most were married by 25, and thereafter lived in their own homes. The Irish girls had quite a different experience since she left home early, by 13, and worked perhaps 10 years as a maid in a native born home. This was not preferred by the Irish family because they feared the exploitation of their daughters by the sons in these homes, but there was little choice, given their large families and limited incomes. However, the girls were able to establish their own homes early as most were married by age 22, and no doubt their own earnings assisted them in this regard. The German girls also left home early and worked as domestics for a time, but tended to marry earlier than either of the other groups, marrying the German men who had finished their apprenticeships and become established as head of their own households. The German and Irish girls experienced a prolonged contact with the native born culture which must have influenced them in rearing their children and managing their own homes.

Sixty years later, Buffalo is host to yet another immigrant family, the Italian family, a peasant family from southern Italy, which became established between 1900 and 1930. Its values included a number of special patterns which were not common to all migrant families although they seem similar. The authority was patriarchial but the woman had an extremely important role as homemaker and child rearer, and had status and authority within the home sphere.

Family values were very protective of the women, both wives and daughters. In a heavy industry town, the males moved into the laboring jobs and the women stayed full time in the home. They might take in boarders, or do some kind of home industry work. However, the Italian father absolutely refused to allow his daughter or sister to live under another man's roof, or even to work under his supervision -- unless it was a relative or other well known and trusted individual. This remained true even though the employment situation of the males was marginal. Men were not unlikely to be out of work for six months of the year in the construction trades. The income of all was needed.

Boys and girls stayed in school until 15 or so, but at that time the boy must go to work, while his sister stayed in the home assisting their mother in whatever ways she could. The only exceptions to these patterns of work were when the entire family worked together in a cannery or following crops, but here the family still looked after and protected its women. Only in the second generation were girls reluctantly allowed to go into factory work for a time before marriage.

Among the consequences of these values and behaviors were that the Italian-American was less upwardly mobile, and as a group their incomes were less. On the other hand, they suffered very little disruption of their family life. The contemporary Polish immigrant family improved its economic position more quickly, but at the cost of greater disruption to its family relationships.

While we continue to have an influx of immigrant families, the Puerto Rican, the Cuban and the Mexican, and smaller numbers of a vast number of nationalities, or total population is so great that their presence is rather less noted, although there is no indication that the transition has become easy.

Have these distinctive family styles ceased to exist, and become part of an undifferentiated whole? It is difficult to answer this question. The collection of statistics is by political unit and not much by nationality background. We have undoubtedly developed life styles which are related to social and economic status. Third generation Jewish, Italian or old American middle class, college educated people have many similar values and patterns of living, although one school of thought holds that the three major religious groups retain differentiated values which influence family and other values. All have small families, with close emotional ties but relatively relaxed authority patterns. The treatment of sons and daughters has become more and more similar, although sons usually retain some advantages in regard to education if a choice must be made.

Over the whole two hundered years, the doctrine of equality has been extended, first in word and very gradually in deed, to the lower class man, to black men, to women and in some degree, to children. The degree of economic affluence of the nation permits this individualization. No longer is it necessary to require the employment of all children to support the family, or the wages of the daughter in order to further the career of the son.

The American family still is an accepted pattern of living together. Its structure is varied but simple. It usually includes an adult pair living together in a sexual relationship approved and accepted by civil, religious and family authority, with their children, and may include the parents and other relatives of both partners. However, none of these elements is essential, and it may still be a family. The form is quite various and in recent years has become more so. Unmarried cohabitation, communal arrangements, single parent families and various other forms are tolerated, if not wholeheartedly approved.

The values of permanence, appropriate sexual behavior, parental responsibility and the range of functions of the family all deserve a word of comment.

The permanence of the marital relationship is still regarded as a value, an ideal, but voluntary dissolution is now also accepted. In the past, marriages were frequently broken, but primarily by death. Some husbands migrating west failed to send for their wives, or sometimes she failed to respond to his summons. Others could and did separate or desert, but such behaviors were disapproved and divorce was not readily available. The current divorce rate is such that some observers readily predict that the family has no future. Since the arrangement has been with mankind throughout history, this observer feels that such predictions are premature. However, there is little doubt that rather important changes have occurred and the values and demography of marriage and family to be expected fifty years from now are somewhat in doubt.

Similarly, views of appropriate sexual behavior have changed. This is a behavior where the perceived need for control has varied in a more cyclical way. There is ample evidence that the early Puritans, for instance, accepted sex as natural, believed it should be restricted to marriage, but were not too surprised when unauthorized behaviors occurred.

The most rigorous control of sexual behavior seems to have occurred during the first half of the last 100 years, whereas the trend from World War I to the present has been in the direction of increasing liberalization, particularly since World War II. It cannot be coincidence that this most recent period is also that of the increasing development of effective contraception.

Americans seem to have been attuned to technology and change from the very beginning. They have actively embraced change as progress and have believed in it as a value -- one which frequently transcended other more conservative values. In this process, family behaviors seem frequently to have been adapted to the limits of technology rather than the reverse. The automobile, and those public media which come into the home -- radio and televsion ,seem to have made a tremendous change in patterns of family behavior. However, it is really too early to evalute this impact.

If we look back just a few years, we can see the modern response more clearly. In 1941, American families just recovering from the effects of a long depression, found themselves coping again with war, one which threatened the country. The response is amazingly clear in the statistical reports. In 1942, we had the highest marriage rate ever recorded. The rate stayed high throughout the war, and reached a new height in 1946-47, the immediate post war period. These marriages involved many younger people and the median age of first marriage for women dropped at least two years.

A variety of motivations are apparent; emotional security, economic security, or evading the draft. The movement of people in response to military and industrial mobilization increased the individual's need for security and also increased the opportunity to meet like-minded individuals. As might be anticipated one result was also a new high in the divorce rate following the war.

More useful to the country was the movement of women into employment. Whether single or married, with husband and/or children present or absent, women responded to the need, working in a much wider range of jobs than previously. "Rosie the Riviter" was a popular stereotype. After the war, most women returned to their homes, and the post war "baby boom" indicated that they were making up for lost time in regard to familial concerns. All was not returned to "normal" however. We have information here which was not collected or remembered from earlier wars. The impact of the Civil War must have been far more devastating on families, but in the World War II situation we seem to see individuals creating or dissolving families for their individual needs rather than a family organization responding in terms of its total membership. This is a matter of degree and the statistics are reflecting the actions of the younger individuals who were not established in their own families.

However, since 1950, high divorce rates have continued. The baby boom, advantageous in emotional terms, was somewhat of a disaster in longer range economic, educational and community terms. If it was a response to the threat of destruction by the hydrogen bomb, as sometimes alleged, it was an inappropriate one. The fears of nuclear warfare are somewhat dimmed by familiarity of the threat and by the fact that wars continue a pace but without nuclear weapons.

Other concerns, for overpopulation, famine on a world level, the return of the Ice Ages, environmental quality, and the threatened failure of energy sources blend to result in wealth to the manufacturers of tranquilizers. The national role of world leader is not easy for the family to comprehend, let alone make plans for the best family structure to function in such a setting.

The environmental restraints are not immediately constraining so that individuals must make choices where there is a wide range of possibilities. It seems likely that our training was adjusted to making hard choices among limited alternatives. When the range of choice is broad, and the constraints few, individuals become confused (alienated is the scientific term) about the rightness of any course of action.

As with earlier periods of crises, a variety of solutions are tried, and the most satisfactory gradually become the accepted wisdom. I am confident that this is going on around us, even though we do not yet perceive the outcome, and that the American family will emerge with new and responsible adaptations for the coming century.

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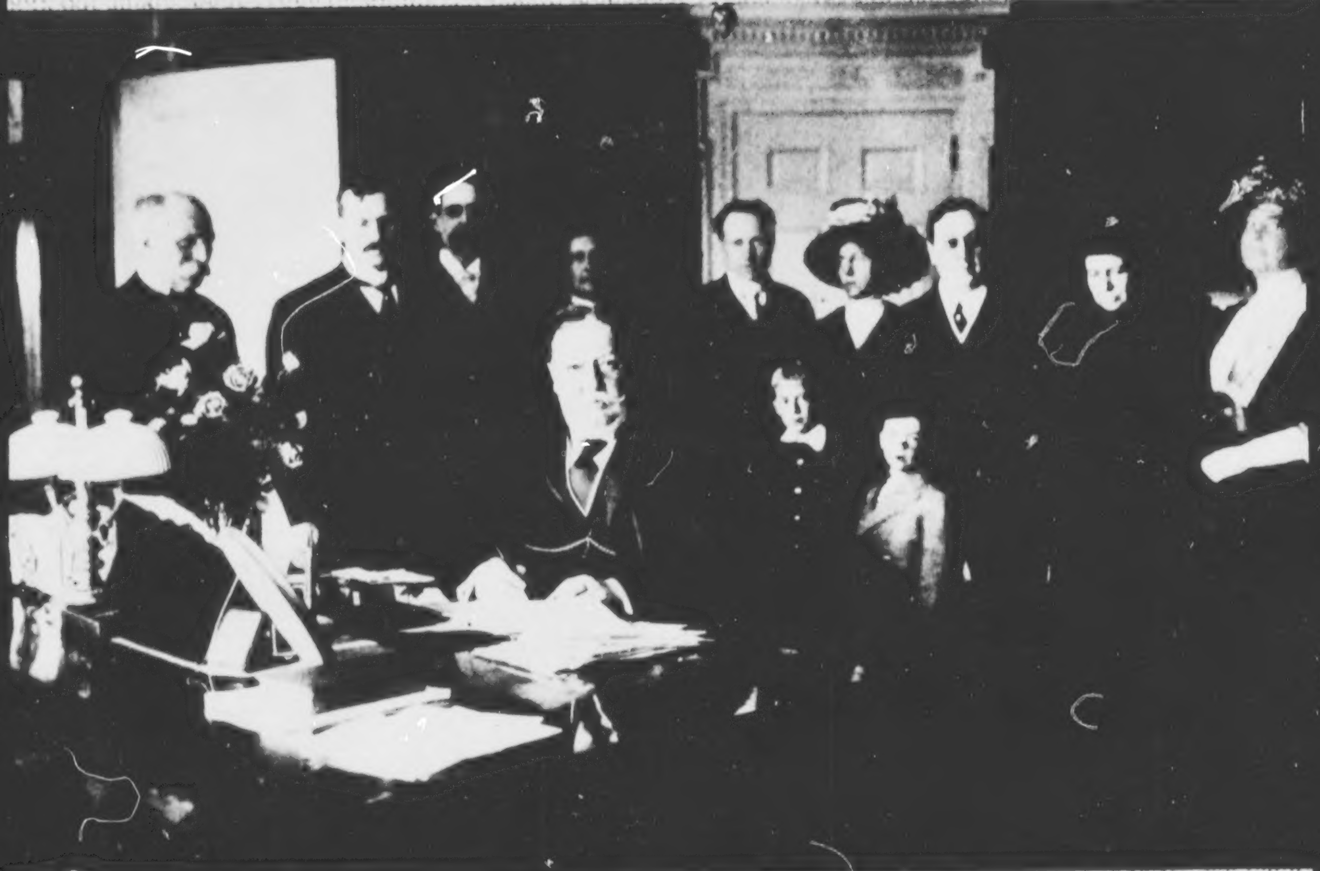

Chapter III

200 Years of Child Health in America

Public Health Service*

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO

If you had been born in America 200 years ago, you would have had only a 50 percent chance of living to celebrate your 21st birthday.

And if your parents heeded the advice of physicians of the time, you would have been hardened to your environment because, parents were counseled, "infants exposed and deserted . . . have lived several days" and "most children's constitutions are spoiled by cockering and tenderness."

If your parents had decided to immigrate to America in the 18th century, your chances of reaching this country alive were even less: "Children between the ages of one and seven seldom survive the sea voyage; and parents must often watch their offspring suffer miserably...from want, hunger, thirst, and the like...die, and be thrown into the ocean... "If crosses and tombstones could be erected on the water...the whole route of the emigrant vessel from Europe to America would long since have assumed the appearance of crowded cemeteries."

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Child Health in America was compiled and assembled by Dorothea Andrews, Chief, Program Services Branch, Bureau of Community Health Services, Health Services Administration.

Of course, all that was long ago, and things have changed. How slowly has change come!

Even in the first decade of the 20th century in New York City (one of the few cities then keeping birth and death records), one-third of all the people who died every year were children under five years of age; one-fifth were babies less than a year old.

The dawn of the 20th century brought the beginnings of an awareness that if babies were to survive into childhood - and children into adulthood - their parents needed to know more than most did about the adequate protection of their health.

According to a public health nurse, writing in 1918:

> "If the lives of 100,000 babies can be saved by something that we can do or leave undone this year, it must be that what some of us have done or left undone has caused the death of 100,000 babies each year in the past. Those babies did not die of their own accord. They were killed-killed by feeding them with dirty, uncooked cow's milk or some other improper food, killed by weakening them with heavy clothing and then exposing them to a sudden draft, killed by letting someone who was coming down with a 'cold' fondle them and pass on to them the deadly germs of some disease...Most of... these 100,000 (were) killed by their mothers or their grandmothers or their sisters, who loved them very much but did not know how babies ought to be cared for."

But it was not just the families who did not know how to protect the lives of babies and children. Many children succumbed at the hands of ignorant doctors. For while New York City and the provinence of New Jersey adopted examination and licensing programs for physicians just before the American Revolution, other areas did not set up such standards until much later.

The new Nation's doctor shortage was also a concern.

When a yellow fever epidemic hit Philadelphia in 1793, there were 6,000 men, women and children ill with fever and only three physicians "who were able to do business out of their houses." An observer wrote:

> "The streets everywhere discovered (sic) marks of the distress that pervaded the city. More than one half the houses were shut up....In walking for many hundred yards, few persons were met, except such as were in quest of a physician, a nurse, a bleeder, or the men who buried the dead."

Earlier in the 18th century (1735) a major epidemic of "throat distemper" (diphtheria and scarlet fever) broke out in Kingston, New Hampsire. In one parish, twenty families buried all their children. Ninety-five percent of the victims were under 20.

Massachusetts passed a "Cow Pox Act" in 1810 that called for vaccinations of persons in "every Town, District, or Plantation, within this Commonwealth." Three years later, Congress passed a law to encourage vaccination. It called for distribution of "genuine vaccine matter" through the medium of the Nation's post offices, and appointment of an agent to keep the vaccine matter pure.

First Child Health Agency

The last half of the 19th century brought a number of changes that affected the health of children. Shortly after the end of the Civil War, New York passed a law to create a Metropolitan Sanitary District and Board of Health to help in the "preservation of life and health, and to prevent the spread of disease." In 1869, Massachusetts became the first State to have a permanent Board of Health and Vital Statistics. By 1877, fourteen States had established State health departments.

The first Division of Child Hygiene in the country was established in 1907 in New York City. Its first director, Dr. S. Josephine Baker, described the conditions at that time:

> "Preventive medicine had hardly been born yet and had no portion in public health work. People were speaking of Colonel Gorgas' work in cleaning tropical disease out of the Canal Zone as if he had been a medieval arch angel performing miracles with a flaming sword instead of a brilliant apostle of common sense and sound information in combating epidemics....At that time health departments went entirely on the principle that there was no point in doing much until something had happened. If a person fell ill with a contagious disease, you quarantined him; if he committed a nuisance, you made him stop doing it or made him pay the penalty. It was all after-the-fact effort-locking the stable door after the horse was stolen; pretty hopeless in terms of permanent results."

Health experts were not alone in their concern about the state of child health in America. Writers took up the cudgels against ignorance. Popular magazines that were widely read by those who could read (universal education was still years away) cooperated:

> In the Ladies' Home Journal, 1904:
> "A mother who would hold up her hands in holy horror at the thought of her child drinking a glass of beer, which contains from two to five percent of alcohol, gives to that child with her own hands a patent medicine that contains from seventeen to forty-four percent of alcohol - to say nothing of opium and cocaine!"

> In Collier's, 1911:
> "If you could examine a cent that had passed through the hands of a dozen children in succession, retaining on it a little of each purchase, your astonised gaze would rest on ingredients like the following:
>
> > "Arsenic, free sulphuric acid, benzoic acid, salicylic acid, powdered white rock, talc, copper salts, Prussian blue, denatured alcohol, wood alcohol, illegal coal-tar dyes, alum, decayed fruit."

In Providence, Rhode Island, where untrained "granny" midwives delivered 42 percent of all infants born in the city in 1910, the health officer later wrote:

> "I did not seek by questions to get at any peculiar or superstitious practices that might be employed (by the midwives), but learned of these three practices which are of interest:
>
> "1. The dressing of the umbilical cord with snuff
> 2. The giving of a mixture of molasses and a little child's urine to a newly delivered infant as a physic
> 3. The binding of the umbilical cord in such a position that its cut end pointed upward in order, so the midwife informed me, to insure no 'bed wetting' as the child grew older."

Children as Chattels

During the early years of the Republic, children were little more than chattels of their families-often referred to not by gender but as "it."

The pendulum has swung widly in this century: from the "children will be seen and not heard" philosophy to that point where the protests of children against their parents, and the society of which they were a part, mounted to a crescendo.

One significant movement of the pendulum came when the Great Depression was ravaging the country. Senator Robert LaFollette (Wis.) rose in the Senate chamber to plead for one of the basic rights of children-to be well fed. After describing hunger and its consequence, he said:

> "If we permit this situation to go on, millions of children will be maimed in body, if not warped in mind, by effects of malnutrition. They will form the citizenship upon which the future of this country must depend."

"They are the hope of America."

Ten years after Senator LaFollette's plea, the Nation was engaged in a war that spread around the globe. From Pearl Harbor to V-J Day, 281,000 Americans were killed in action. During the same period, 430,000 babies died in the United States before they were a year old - 3 babies dead for every 2 soldiers killed in World War II.

America was still a long way from fulfilling the hope embodied in her children.

Children as Individuals

The first real glimmer of the idea that children were individuals in their own right-and that their health needs were special-emerged during the last half of the 19th century. Dr. Abraham Jacobi, the founder of American pediatrics, said: "Therapeutics of infancy and childhood are by no means so similar to those of the adult that the rules of the latter can simply be adopted to the former by reducing doses. The differences are many..."

Dr. Thomas M. Rotch, the first incumbent of the chair of pediatrics established by the Harvard Medical School in 1888, took this philosophy a step further:

> "To intelligently understand the fully developed man in health and disease, it seems self-evident that the anatomy and physiology not only of the final state of growth should be studied, but also that the various stages of development, from embryo to infant and infant to child and child to adult, should successively be dealt with. This in the past, however, has been but little done. On the contrary, the very opposite method has been adopted; the most careful attention being paid to adult anatomy and physiology, and then deductions made backward from adult to child - a retrograde means of acquiring knowledge, which has proved eminently unsuccessful."

These were poineering words. They pointed the way for the speciality of pediatrics to progress in the 20th century through research in child development and through education of physicians.

School Health Problems

When compulsory school attendance was initiated in the 19th century, it brought new health problems. The New York Medico-Legal Society reported on overcrowded schools in New York City in 1876:

> "These classrooms are lighted from the yard, and are in close proximity to the water closets, surrounded, in some instances, by huge tenement houses, and separated only by a few feet from the gallery or infant classes, which average seventy-five pupils-commonly two classes occupying this space-packed as closely as it is possible to do, there being but one intermission of twenty minutes, during the morning session, allowed these hapless little ones. It is no wonder that these schools should be a fruitful source of (sic) the propogation of contagious diseases."

Some States passed school health examination laws designed to exclude contagious diseases where possible, to detect the most obvious physical defects of children and to arrange for the correction of defects by the municipality where the child lived.

By 1911, nine States had mandatory school health inspection laws, ten permitted local agencies to hire school health inspectors and 29 had no such inspection legislation.

In a discussion of this situation before the American Pediatric Society in 1909, one doctor said: "It is really a serious question whether children with vulvovaginitis should be allowed to attend public schools. . . . The use of the general closets by such children should certainly be prohibited."

The school inspection laws were not paralleled in privately operated day nurseries. In many cities there was no regulation or medical supervision of these nurseries at all.

Flu Epidemic

When an epidemic of influenze swept the country during World War I, there were not only shortages of doctors and nurses to care for the sick; in many places, there were not even enough undertakers to bury the dead. All over the country, schools were closed and children played in the streets unsupervised; they became easy prey to the disease.

In New York City the schools were kept open. Dr. S. Josephine Baker assigned all the inspectors and nurses in the school system solely to flu-related activities.

"Every morning every school was visited by one of the doctors and the children were given a hurried inspection. The children went directly to their classrooms when they arrived and directly home when the school was dismissed. No class came into contact with any other classes. Not only were cases of influenza almost nonexistent among the children, but the teachers kept well too."

Preventing Disease

The New York City experience was an early clue that the best hope of prevention of disease lay in adequate health supervision and marked the beginning of a more realistic approach to the control of epidemics among school children.

Antitoxins and antiseptics developed early in the present century helped to spur the idea of preventing disease through appropriate immunization measures. With typical American optimism, one doctor boasted:

> "In most intelligent communities any appreciable number of cases of measles or scarlet fever is

> viewed with reproach as the result of faulty domiciliary, school or public hygiene. Twenty years ago such cases and epidemics were looked on as unavoidable calamities."

Building adequate protections around child health proved to be as awesome a task in America as building the pyramids was to the Egyptians. Even today, this national task is not finished.

In 1898, Dr. L. Emmett Holt, writing about his work in Babies' Hospital, New York City, observed:

> "One of the most distressing things seen in hospital practice is that children who are admitted for simple malnutrition, or some other slight ailment, not infrequently develop some serious form of acute disease while in the hospital; not only the ordinary contagious diseases may be so contracted but other acute forms, such as pneumonia and the acute intestinal diseases. These come sometimes in spite of all precautions. . . ."

His comments were among those that led to hospitals' efforts to find out why the hospital experience of many children only made them sicker.

In the mid-1930's, when the U.S. Public Health Service undertook a health survey of 700,000 households in urban communities in 18 States and 37,000 households in rural areas in 3 States, it found several causes of child death: "An average of 51 percent of all deaths of children between 1 and 15 years of age were due to infectious and parasitic disease, pneumonia, and diarrhea and enteritis. In the period 1933-35, an annual average of 23,000 deaths of children of these ages were caused by diseases in the infectious or parasitic group, 10,746 by all forms of pneumonia and 5,458 by diarrhea and enteritis."

"These deaths," the Public Health Service concluded, "measure in part the result of lack of medical care and delay in summoning medical aid beyond the point at which treatment is effective."

The U.S. Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, in a subsequent report, confirmed this finding. It also cited a study of home visits by health department physicians and nurses to children with measles, scarlet fever, and whooping cough. In about half of the small cities in the study, the number of visits by public health staff fell below the minimum required by standard practice.

In 1936, 71 percent of the cities in the country with a population under 10,000 exercised no sanitary control over their milk supplies. Less than half the preschool-age children in some 50 cities and counties had been immunized against diptheria.

Communicable Diseases

Within the next decade, more progress was made in the conquest of communicable diseases than in any previous period in the Nation's history. The American Academy of Pedaitrics, reporting on child health services in 1947, stated:

> "The phenomenal record of improvement for the preschool age is due mainly to the control of communicable diseases. It is a striking fact that among preschool children the death rate from all causes in 1945 was less than the combined death rate from pneumonia, influenza and the other communicable diseases in 1935.

"The reduction in mortality from diarrheal diseases, scarlet fever, whooping cough, and measles has been particularly noteworthy. During the last fifteen years the death rate in this age group from diarrheal disease, although still important, has been cut to one tenth of its former level.

"Among children of school age, chronic illnesses are increasing in importance as morbidity and mortality from acute diseases diminish. Today rheumatic heart disease is at the top of the list of causes of death from diseases. A rather surprising finding is the entrance of cancer, including leukemia, into the picture as one of the leading causes of death among children."

When penicillin became available to treat syphillis following World War II, public health departments stepped up efforts to trace every contact of every person known to be infected with this veneral disease. One result was a significant decrease in congenital syphilis. By 1970, the American Public Health Association could report:

> "In 1939, one out of every 84 deaths under one year of age was caused by syphilis; by 1965, only one in 3,715 deaths under one year of age was caused by syphilis. In 1939, 6.6 percent of the deaths certified as due to syphilis were in infants under one year of age; in 1965, it was only 1.0 percent. As a cause of infant mortality, syphilis has practically disappeared."

Also at the end of World War II, sulfa drugs were quickly accepted by physicians and their patients, marking the beginning of the development of a wide spectrum of antibiotics that now make it possible to treat tuberculosis, mastoiditis, meningitis, osteomyelitis, pneumonia and other acute bacterial infections. Pencilillin can be used to prevent the onset of rheumatic fever. Poliomyelitis has been almost eliminated as a cause of death and physical handicap. Immunization can protect against the complications that accompany measles and German measles.

Chronic Diseases

Looking to the future, the American Academy of Pediatrics, in its 1971 report on child health in the United States, sees still another task ahead:

> "There is information about the incidence of chronic disease in individual States, and there is information about the number and types of services provided such children, but there is no reliable information about the Nation -wide incidence of chronic

> disease and more unfortunately, there is no information about the services that such children need."

Infant Deaths

Look for the graves of the babies in any old cemetery used as far back as 1900. You will find many of them: tiny headstones, the markings already corroded by time; these are grim reminders that uncounted thousands of infants died in the first hours, days or weeks after birth-and that no one knew how to prevent their deaths.

Even today, the United States ranks 15th among the developed nations of the world in its record of preventing infant mortality.

The Nation had celebrated its centennial before it finally decided to find out why so many babies died. There were so many reasons that it took the efforts of different kinds of people-people who were determined not to let the slaughter continue. These people represented organizations and foundations like the Russell Sage Foundation and the Commonwealth Fund, professional medical groups like the American Medical Association and the American Academy of Pediatrics, women's groups like the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and city and State health departments.

One of the answers to why babies died came in the stables and dairies of Rochester, New York, which supplied the city's milk. A public health officer, aware of current 19th century research about the causes of disease, examined the environment:

> "The stables were dirty, festooned with cobwebs and badly drained; the surroundings, sinks of mud and cow manure; the utensils dirty, often containing layers of sour milk with a mixture of countless millions of bacteria; and the milk itself so imperfectly cared for and badly cooled that it often soured before reaching the consumer. Up to this period (1897) children were fed upon such milk with hardly a protest

> upon the part of these responsible for their food. Here, then, seemed to be the main cause of sickness and deaths in infants. What could we do about the matter?"

While Rochester's department of health moved to clean up its milk supply, it also moved to inform the city's residents about the dangers their babies faced. An eight page pamphlet, published in English, German, Italian and Yiddish, was distributed. It told mothers how to look after their babies during the hot summer months.

If the mother could not breast feed her baby, the pamphlet advised: "GIVE THE BABY WATER." The directions for preventing the often fatal "summer complaint" were clear: "Whenever it cries, or is fretful, do not offer it food, GIVE IT WATER."

In the meantime, dairies and stables were cleaned, utensils were sterilized, the milk was boiled, and a milk station was estabished. Here mothers, if they wanted clean milk, brought their babies to be weighed; then a sanitary milk mixture was prescribed according to the weight of the child. There was a nurse on hand to tell the mother about the air, water, food, sleep, recreation and clothing her child needed.

In the eight years before the establishment of municipal milk stations, the total number of deaths in Rochester of children under five years of age from all causes during the months of July and August was 1,744. The comparable figure for the eight years after the founding of milk stations was 864.

Safe Milk

The Rochester experiment followed on the heels of the efforts of Nathan Straus, a Bavarian emigrant who became an owner of R.H. Macy and Company, to make sure that safe milk reached the mouths of New York City babies. In 1892, he opened the first of nearly three hundred milk stations that he was to establish in the United States and abroad.

In 1909, Straus appeared before the Board of Alderman of New York City and declared:

> "The city is paying millions to support hospitals. It is time to do something to keep people out of hospitals by seeing to it that the two million quarts of milk coming into this city daily from 40,000 dairy farms do not contain the living organisms that produce tuberculosis, typhoid and scarlet fevers, diptheria and summer complaint...
>
> "I have done as much as one man and one purse can do to save the lives of the children of this city. Now I must put the work up to the city. I am supplying pasteurized milk for some 25,000 babies a day. Every baby in the city is entitled to such milk, and no growing child or adult ought to be exposed to the dangers of raw milk."

But contaminated milk was not the only cause of infant mortality. While working at Babies' Hospital in New York City, Dr. L. Emmett Holt had seen at first hand many losing battles for the lives of babies. "The question of saving infant life is very fast becoming a vital one in social economics", wrote Dr. Holt in 1897. He estimated that of all children born at that time, 20 percent would die before the end of their second year.

"This is most appalling," he said, "But it serves to emphasize the importance of the problem we are confronting, and it is gratifying to note that something is being done to lessen this high mortality. The year 1897 shows a death rate (for infants) under one year nearly 1,000 less than that of any (other) recent year. This is a result of many factors: cleaner streets, closer supervision of milk supply, and many other sanitary measures...but also, to a more intelligent understanding of all the problems connected with infant life..."

And there were the untrained midwives.

In Providence, Rhode Island, the health officer reported:

> "All forty professed to scrub their hands well before making vaginal examinations, and 72 percent also used a bichloride solution, but questioning brought out that only two women understood its significance. One or two women wore gloves occasionally, but I found that this was always with the idea of self-protection...47 percent had no equipment or could show me none, if they possessed it, and I can say that I only saw four really good bags with the requisite supplies...."

Training for Physicians

But as critical as the health officer rightly was about the state of midwifery, the state of training for physicians was little better. In the now famous 1910 report on medical education in the United States and Canada, Abraham Flexner, a Kentucky-born educator who was commissioned to make the study for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, posed the truism: "The safety and comfort of both patients-mother and child-depend on the trained care and dexterity of the physician."

He surveyed the country's medical schools to see the quality of training that was being offered:

> "The hospitals of Atlanta and Los Angeles exclude students from the obsterical ward; at Burlington there is no obsterical ward, but the 'students see more or less'; at Denver a 'small amount' of material is claimed; at Birmingham it is 'very scarce; at Chattanooga there are 'about ten cases a year' to which students 'are summoned,' how or by whom is far from clear...."The national record was dismal indeed.

The sharp criticism in the report, when it became public knowledge, forced many medical institutions to close and signaled the beginning of modern medical education in the United States.

FOUNDING OF THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU

This was the climate when the Federal Government, at the urging of the first White House Conference on Children in 1909, finally established a Children's Bureau.

It came into being on April 9, 1912. The Congress specified that the Children's Bureau was to have a staff of 15 persons, headed by a Chief to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Chief was to receive an annual salary of $5,000. Other staff members at lower salaries ranged down to a messenger, whose annual stipend was to be $840.

Legislation creating the Children's Bureau charged it with investigating and reporting "upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanages, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories."

President William Howard Taft appointed Julia Lanthrop as first Chief of the Children's Bureau. She was the first woman in the Nation's history to be selected by a President to head a Federal statutory agency. A native of Illinois, she had served with Jane Addams at Hull House; had fought against the political spoils system that permitted appointment of unqualified administrators to State institutions; had sought more enlightened treatment for those who lived in almshouses; had worked to remove the mentally ill from prisons and place them in separate State institutions.

Birth Registration

Miss Lathrop was quick to begin the task of investigating infant mortality:

> "The Children's Bureau is especially directed by the law under which it was established to investigate infant mortality, or the deaths of babies under 1 year old. In an effort to

> comply with the law the bureau is hampered at every step by the limitations created by the imperfect collection of birth statistics in this country.
>
> "To study infant mortality it is necessary to know how many babies have been born and how many have died before they were 1 year old...
>
> "Birth registration means the record in public archives of the births of children...In the United States birth registration has made progress less rapidly than . . . death registration and the registration of marriages.
>
> . . . .
>
> ...The country as a whole is still devoid of uniform and complete records of the births of its citizens.
>
> "We have no national bookkeeping to account for the ebb and flow of human life as an asset and a liability of our civic organism. We have no national records to give our sanitarians and students a basis for their preventive studies....
>
> "It is fair to say that there is a steadily increasing sense of the value of vital statistics,and that the number of States with good laws increases yearly . . ."

In the 1920s, some States were establishing birth registration for the first time: in 1927 - Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Tennessee; a year later - Colorado, Georgia, Oklahoma; in 1929 - Nevada, New Mexico, the Territory of Hawaii.

The effort to have births registered, while eventually successful, took the joint encouragement of the Children's Bureau, the American Medical Association, the American Public Health Association, the American Bar Association and the Bureau of the Census.

The Children's Bureau began the first of what were to be many studies of infant mortality in 1913, in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, where birth registration was reported as complete. The effort was to locate every baby born in 1911, whether a live birth or still birth, find out who attended its birth (physician, midwife, or other), and learn how many babies died during the first year of life.

But it was soon obvious that some children born in 1911 had been left out - their births had not been registered because at delivery their mothers had called a neighbor, depended on their husbands, or simply managed alone. Some women, particularly members of the Servian Church, resented the fact that their babies were not included. The church's christening records were searched, names of these babies were added to the official birth registration list, and a house-to-house canvass was made in the Servian quarter to be sure the list was complete.

Mothers in Poverty

The Johnstown study revealed that the poor depended largely on either midwives or neighbors - or themselves - to deliver their babies.

A Polish woman wrote this account of the birth of a child and the mother's schedule:

> "At 5 o'clock Monday evening (the pregnant woman) went to sister's to return washboard, having just finished day's washing. Baby born while there; sister too young to assist in any way . . . washed baby at sister's house, walked home, cooked supper for boarders, and was in bed by 8 o'clock. Got up and ironed next day and day followed; it tired her, so she then stayed in bed two days. She milked cows and sold milk day after baby's birth, but being tired hired some one to do it later in week."

"The ice was coming in the river, and the ferry couldn't get across," one women remembered as she described the day her child was born. "So we decided not to try to get a doctor and it's very expensive; the doctor charges

$75 to come here."

In the slums of the big cities, conditions were even worse. Dr. S. Josephine Baker, director of New York City's Division of Child Hygiene, wrote:

> "I had served my time in that long, hot summer in Hell's Kitchen when I walked up and down tenement stairs to find in every house a wailing skeleton of a baby, doomed by ignorance and neglect to die needlessly. I had interviewed mother after mother too ignorant to know that precautions could be taken and too discouraged to bother taking them even when you tried to teach her. If mothers could be taught what to do, most of these squalid tragedies need never happen."

The Children's Bureau studies of both infant and maternal mortality had established a definite link between the health of the mother and her baby's chances not only of surviving the first year of life, but of thriving.

How was this information to be put to work to save lives?

Publications for Mothers

Miss Lathrop asked Mrs. Max West, a mother with some writing skills, to prepare information that would be useful in the care of infants, as well as in the care of pregnant women.

"Infant Care," which first appeared in 1914, offered practical advice to mothers based on the latest knowledge of child development. At the time, most children were being raised on old wives' tales, supersition, and liberal doses of castor oil. Subsequently, the booklet became the Government's all-time best seller. "Prenatal Care" was first published in 1913; through subsequent editions it has emphasized the need for good nutrition and adequate medical supervision during pregnancy.

There are many calls for help. A typical one came from a pregnant women who explained she was isolated from her neighbors as well as from medical care. In a letter to the first chief of the Children's Bureau, she wrote:

> "Dear Miss Lathrop:
>
> "I should like very much all the publications on the care of myself, who am now pregnant, also on the care of a baby. I live sixty-five miles from a Dr...I am 37 years old and I am so worried and filled with perfect horror at the prospects ahead. So many of my neighbors die at giving birth to their children. I have a baby 11 months old now in my keeping, whose mother died. When I reached their cabin last Nov. it was 22 below zero, and I had to ride 7 miles horse back. She was nearly dead when I got there, and died after giving birth to a 14 lb. boy...Will you please send me all the information for the care of myself before and after and at the time of delivery. I am far from a doctor, and we have no means, only what we get on this rented ranch. . ."

Proposed Health Program

A special observance of Chldren's Year in 1918 led to a determined campaign to establish federally supported health programs for mothers and children. Although a few large cities were conducting programs of maternal and child hygiene, the public health needs of most of the Nation's mothers and children were virtually unserved.

Many of the women who were to get the vote when the 19th Amendment was ratified in 1920 enlisted in this campaign as members of such groups as the National League of Women Voters, the General Federation of Women's Clubs or the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. Some 15 other national organizations and many State and local groups also supported the movement.

Sheppard-Towner Act

Legislation was introduced in the Congress by Senator Morris Sheppard (Texas) and Representative Horace Mann Towner (Iowa) to establish a Federal-State program for maternal and infant health. This Maternity and Infancy Act usually referred to by the sponsors' names drew support from both Houses of Congress.

But it was also vigorously opposed. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (Mass.) charged that under the bill, "Unlike all other bureaus and commission under the Government that I know of, the head of this Bureau is in absolute and final control . . . not even subject to the orders of the President of the United States."

Senator James Reed (Mo.): "It seems to be the established doctrine of this bureau that the only people capable of caring for babies and mothers of babies are ladies who have never had babies (Laughter)...I cast no reflection on unmarried ladies. Perhaps some of them are too good to have husbands. But any woman who is too refined to have a husband should not undertake the care of another woman's baby when that other woman wants to take care of it herself ...Official meddling cannot take the place of mother love.

"Mother love! The golden cord that stretches from the throne of God, uniting all animate creation to divinity. Its light gleams down the path of time from barbarous ages, when savage women held their babies to almost famished breasts and died that they might live. Its gold flame glows as bright in hovels where poverty breaks a meager crust as in palaces where wealth holds Lucullian feasts. It is the one great universal passion-the sinless passion of sacrifice. Incomparable in its sublimity, interference is sacrilege, regulation is mockery."

In the Senate the bill was branded as being drawn chiefly from the "radical, socialistic, and bolshevistic philosophy of Germany and Russia." It was ridiculed as a departure from common sense: "The mother of today has sense enough to know in general what her baby needs. When she is in doubt she resorts to the assistance of her husband, the counsel of some good old mother, and the advice of the family doctor."

In the House of Representatives, the debate went on just as vehemently. Representative Alben W. Barkley, who later was to serve in the Senate from Kentucky and to become Vice President under Harry S. Truman, sounded a note of calm:

> "I know of no more legitimate or effective way by which Congress can provide for the general welfare of the people than by making an effort to provide for their health. I do not think that provision should be limited to adults . . . but it ought to apply as well to those who have just been born into the world, who have a right to expect that they will have an equal chance with every other child in the world, not only to be born in health and proper environment, but an equal chance to survive after they have been brought into the world."

The Sheppard-Towner Act did pass, and was signed into law late in 1921. It was the first time in the Nation's history that a Federal formula grant program had been established in the field of health.

Miss Lathrop, who had toured the country tirelessly in support of better health for mothers and children, decided that year to resign her post. On her recommendation President Warren G. Harding appointed Grace Abbott from the Children's Bureau staff as her successor.

Extending Health Care

It fell to Miss Abbott to administer the provisions of the law. She noted that in spite of many differences in State programs, health care for mothers and children was being undertaken through five general "lines of work":

.Promotion of birth registration
.Cooperation between health authorities and physicians, nurses, dentists, nutrition workers, and so forth
.Establishment of infant welfare centers
.Establishment of maternity centers

> .Educational classes for mother, midwives, and household assistants or mother's helpers and "little mothers."

Offering public health care to pregnant women was a new concept in many States. Miss Abbott set forth the purposes of that part of the Sheppard-Towner Act this way:

> "First, to secure an appreciation among women of what constitutes good prenatal and obstetrical care."

> "Second, how to make available adequate community resources so that the women may have the type of care which they need and should be asking for."

By 1927, forty-five States and the Territory of Hawaii had accepted the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner Act. This obligated the States to provide funds to match the Federal grants available for maternal and child health activities. Each State could determine how it wanted to spend these funds.

Fourteen States decided to license, inspect, supervise and instruct midwives.

One State with the beginnings of a prenatal program decided to expand the number of prenatal clinics. Others promoted maternal health by conferences with expectant mothers, encouragement of adequate medical and nursing assistance, and establishment of maternity and child health centers in each county.

The Sheppard-Towner Act originally was supposed to die in 1927. It was renewed for two additional years, and the hue and cry rose again, even more vitriolic than before.

The Women's Patriot, a journal of the time, inveighed:

> "Children are now the best political graft in America. They furnish the best possible screen behind which to hide cold-blooded, calculated socialist feminist political schemes to raid the United Treasury to supply. . . . 'new, fat jobs' plus publicity,

> prominence and power, to childless bureaucrats and women politicians to 'investigate and report' the hard-working, taxpaying, child-bearing mothers of America, under pretense of promoting 'child welfare' and 'saving mothers and babies'".

In its eight years (1921-1929), the Sheppard-Towner Act helped bring about many advances in health care, including:

> In 1922, 30 States and the District of Columbia required registration of all births. By 1929, the number had increased to 46 States and the District of Columbia, representing 95 percent of the total national population.
>
> In 1920, there were child hygiene bureaus or divisions in 28 States, 16 of them created in 1919. The act brought the establishment of 19 additional divisions.

The number of permanent health centers was vastly augmented: 1,594 permanent local child health, prenatal or combined prenatal and child health consultation centers were established between 1924 and 1929.

Public health nursing for mothers and children was expanded. Alabama, for instance, employed only 36 local nurses in 1921. Sheppard-Towner funds made it possible to double the number to 74 by 1926.

Even after 1929, the legislatures of 19 States and the Territory of Hawaii continued to appropriate for maternal and child health programs an amount equal to or exceeding the combined State and Federal funds received under the act.

Academy of Pediatrics

Dissent over the Sheppard-Towner Act attracted a strange collection of bedfellows, among them the American Medical Association, which lobbied strongly against the original bill and its continuation. Some physicians who had been members of the AMA then broke away and formed the

American Academy of Pediatrics in 1930. The Academy adopted the following statement of its purposes:

> "To create reciprocal and friendly relations with all professional and lay organizations that are interested in the health and protection of children and to foster and encourage pediatric investigation, both clinically and in the laboratory, by individuals and groups."

Children's Charter

In 1930, President Herbert Hoover convened the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection "to study the present status of the health and well-being of the children of the United States and its possessions, to report what is being done, to recommend what ought to be done, and how to do it."

The Conference also produced the Children's Charter, which, among its 19 tenets, listed:

> "For every child, full preparation for its birth, his mother receiving prenatal, natal, and postnatal care; and the establishment of such protective measures as will make child bearing safer."

> "For every child, health protection from birth through adolescence, including: periodical health examinations and, where needed, care of specialists and hospital treatment; regular dental examinations and care of the teeth; protective and preventive measures among communicable diseases; the insuring of pure food, pure milk, and pure water."

Depression of the Thirties

The country did not know how serious a depression it was entering in 1930, when these affirmations about the importance of health for children were made. But it was not long in finding out.

In 1932, New York City's Health Department reported that 20 percent of the school children examined were suffering from malnutrition. In the southern States there was an alarming increase in pellagra. Families had no money to buy essential foods.

Grace Abbott wrote:

> "Even those with little imagination know how no employment or underemployment, the failure of banks and building and loan associations have affected many children whose parents faced the future self-reliant and unafraid a few years ago. In the millions of homes which have escaped the abyss of destitution, fear of what may still happen is destroying the sense of security which is considered necessary for the happiness and well-being of children...."
>
> "Last year probably more than a billion dollars was expended by public and private agencies for the relief of the unemployed. Although this is probably some eight times as much as was spent for relief in normal times, no one who has been going in and out of the homes of the unemployed in large urban centers or in the single-industry towns and mining commmunities has reported that it has been adequate to insure shelter, clothes and a reasonably adequate diet for all needy children."

Available medical care for children decreased and undernutrition increased as the depression deepened. Sixteen States were left with no active separate division of child hygiene, and in other States the child health units were understaffed. Nine States had no appropriation for child health, and many others had only token appropriations.

By the spring of 1933, unemployment had reached an estimated fifteen million. The unemployed protested through demonstrations and hunger marches.

Senator Robert F. Wagner (N.Y.) spoke out: "We cannot count the cost of this calamity to the people of the United States. Nor can we measure the broken hopes, the ruined lives, and the aftermath of suffering that will be visited upon a large part of the next generation."

In June 1934, President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent a special message to the Congress announcing the creation of a Committee on Economic Security. He spoke of "security for men, women and children. . . .against several of the great disturbing factors of life-especially those which relate to unemployment and old age."

Not a word about child health.

Social Security Act

The Executive Director of the Economic Security Committee, Edwin E. Witte, sought the advice of people "who were reported to me to have valuable ideas." His consultants on the needs of children included Grace Abbott, second Chief of the Children's Bureau; Edith Abbott, her sister; Katharine Lenroot, appointed Chief of the Bureau in 1934; and Dr. Martha M. Eliot, adviser on the medical aspects of child health who was to serve as Chief of the Bureau from 1951-56.

What these farsighted leaders proposed, and what Secretary Frances Perkins presented in her 1934 annual report for the Department of Labor (the administering Cabinet agency for the Children's Bureau), was a broad program to meet the health and social services needs of children throughout the Nation. The proposal had the strong support of the Committee on Economic Security:

> "We cannot too strongly recommend that the Federal Government again recognize its obligation to participate in a Nation-wide program saving the children from the forces of attrition and decay which the depression turned upon them above all others."

The recommendations were incorporated in the drafts for social security legislation that also provided for older, handicapped, and other groups of Americans with special needs.

Through a combination of circumstances, the children's health proposals in the Social Security Act escaped the cries of outrage that the Sheppard-Towner Act had produced. Congress recognized the new proposals as a renewal and extension of the Sheppard -Towner Act. Women's organizations testified at Congressional hearings in support of child health as a form of "security."

Former opponents - acting now in different times - did not try to block the new legislation. Some, like Dr. Rudolph W. Holmes, associate professor of obstetrics and gynecology at Rush Medical College, had a change of heart about Federal health programs, including the Sheppard-Towner Act. He wrote:

> "And has this much defamed Maternity and Infancy Act accomplished anything? I believe the act has advanced obstetric practice and knowledge in rural and small communities 25 years ahead of the time it would normally have come . . . . Whatever good is being done by educating the women of this country in prenatal care will be nothing in comparison to what will accrue when the rank and file of general practitioners have been made to realize the need of better obstetrics, and will give what the women - the patients - have been taught to demand . . . ."

> "At the present time more than 50 percent of the labors in Chicago are conducted in hospitals, while hardly 10 years ago - at least before the World War - not far from 60 percent of women in labor attended by midwives. Education has accomplished this, and education will increase this proportion until the midwife is entirely eliminated - and the mortality rate will diminish with her going."

On August 14, 1935, the Social Security Act was signed into law, providing for a Federal-State partnership to promote maternal and child health, a similar partnership to provide a full range of medical care for handicapped children, and a special fund, administered by the Children's

Bureau, to demonstrate effective ways of offering maternal and child health and crippled children's services.

These provisions for the health of mothers and children were incorporated in title V of the Social Security Act - "Grants to States for Maternal and Child Welfare." Title V also included grants to the States to establish, extend and strengthen public child welfare services "for the protection and care of homeless, dependent, and neglected children, and children in danger of becoming delinquent." The child welfare section also authorized a special fund to demonstrate ways of improving child welfare services.

While the Children's Bureau had years of experience in the promotion of maternal and child health, it was embarking into new territory in the administration of the crippled children's program and the demonstrations that could be used either to augment the numbers of trained health personnel or to show new ways of improving maternal and child health - or a combination of both.

State Health Units

Secretary Perkins reported that in June 1934, before the passage of the Social Security Act, only 31 States had divisions of maternal and child health and in only 22 of these were the directors on a full-time basis.

But when the act went into effect, the plans submitted by all the States and territories provided for establishing bureaus or divisions of maternal and child health as major components of State health departments. By June 30, 1936, all but four States had appointed directors of these divisions, including pediatricians and obstetricians, a number of whom had training in public health administration.

The expansion of public health nursing through the maternal and child health program was a natural extension of the work of a number of dedicated people. Among them was Lillian Wald, one of the strongest advocates for the establishment of a Children's Bureau, and a pioneer in the development of a municipal nursing service at her Henry

Street settlement in New York City.

A number of States set about making special provisions to train nurses in the problems and care of crippled children - a form of training entirely new in most States. Social workers were included on the State staffs to coordinate the child's physical restoration with planning for his social adjustment.

Some States appointed dental coordinators to help county dental societies develop clinics for educational and corrective services.

At the same time, the States did not ignore the need for nutrition programs to train health workers who came in direct contact with mothers and children. For there was little doubt that the nutrition of the pregnant woman had something to do with the health - even the survival - of her infant; and that poor nutrition could aggravate the chances that her child would be born with one or more handicaps.

In the last half of the 19th century, private organizations had first recognized the special plight of physically handicapped children and had begun efforts to help them. By the mid-90s, most large cities had at least one children's hospital where crippled children could be treated.

In 1897, Minnesota became the first State to undertake work with crippled children; Massachusetts and New York followed closely behind. Meanwhile, volunteer groups - such as the American Legion, Masonic orders, and the Rotary and Lions Clubs - were giving special attention to hospitals for crippled children, or to the needs of special groups of such children.

Education of the blind and the deaf began between 1850 and 1900. By 1898, 24 public institutions for feeble-minded children were being maintained by 19 States. By the end of World War I, all but four States supplied some institutional care for mentally retarded children.

When title V was put into operation in 1936, the States used to advantage the involvement of private organizations in their programs for crippled children. Many plans called for coordinating the work of public and private agencies. Contributions of private groups in funds, transportation, and personal interest helped State agencies extend their facilities for hospitalization and other essential services beyond what they alone could have done.

The program for crippled children's services contained in the Social Security Act was an entirely new concept. No similar national medical care program for children had ever been enacted. Some proponents thought that this program would have special appeal to President Roosevelt who himself had been a victim of infantile paralysis, but there is no evidence to suggest that he gave it preferential support.

The strongest argument for the crippled children's services program was that in nearly half the States, no public funds were being spent to treat handicapped children. In many other States the appropriations were so small that they could help only a token number of children. Crippled children and those suffering from chronic disease were described as constituting a "regiment" - but no one really knew whether "army" might have been a better term.

The Bureau recognized that it had a major new job in administering the crippled children's program. Each State defined the "crippling" conditions it would attempt to treat under the new program. These definitions included orthopedic conditions, conditions that required plastic surgery, and, in a few States, operable eye conditions, rheumatic fever and diabetes.

The program used State and local hospitals, public and private, largely on a per diem basis. To lower transportation costs and keep children as near their own homes as possible, many States used all hospitals equipped to give orthopedic care.

The Children's Bureau, acting on the advice of special advisory committees, recommended minimal acceptable standards to the States, not only for hospitals and other institutions to be used by the children, but also for the qualifications of professional personnel.

Demonstration Programs

The Bureau emphasized that the Federal funds available under the program were to be used to extend and improve services, not to replace services already being rendered by private and public agencies. The act specified that States were to use Children's Bureau funds "especially in rural areas and in areas suffering from severe economic distress."

Four years after the act was passed, the Bureau set aside funds to launch a demonstration program to help children with rheumatic fever. Dr. Betty Huse, a Bureau pediatric consultant, pointed out that "at this time rheumatic fever is a long drawn-out, chronic, recurrent infection of childhood, which requires long continued, thoughtful, and costly care.

"The aim of treatment must be not only to prevent or minimize, insofar as possible, damage to the heart, but also to prevent or minimize the serious inroads which a chronic invalidizing disease like this is apt to make into the child's emotional life, education, and social adjustments."

The demonstration program was based on the premise that if a small number of children in a State are taken care of adequately and completely and their problems studied, it would be easier later to extend services to other children elsewhere in the State.

The U.S. Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities had reported in 1938:

> "In northern parts of the country about 1 percent of all school children suffer from rheumatic heart disease; in the South the disease is apparently less frequent. Appropriate treatment of children with rheumatic disease will restore 60 percent to normal life; 15 percent to a life of restricted activity."

At the time the demonstration was launched, only nine States had the beginnings of a rheumatic fever program. By 1960, when developments in chemotheraphy made it possible to prevent recurrent attacks of this disease, little more than half the States had included rheumatic fever programs in their crippled children's services.

The demonstration component of the Bureau's program was used again and again as a means of showing how a partnership between good care and the fruits of science and medical research could improve the health of mothers and children.

Response from the Public

The public climate was changing.

The Bureau was getting letters like this from parents:

> "When people stop me on the street and ask me the whys and wherefores of my so obviously healthy baby, I always say: 'He's a Government baby,' giving all credit to your bulletin 'Infant Care.' I was lucky enough not to know anything about babies before and not to have any relatives who thought they did."

And letters like this from doctors:

> "A few months ago you were kind enough to send me a supply of Bureau publications 4 and 8 'Prenatal Care' and 'Infant Care.' I wonder if I could prevail upon you to send me a whole lot of them. They turned out to be the most wonderful help to my primapara cases that I have had in my 23 years of practice. They have become famous in this part of the country (Pennsylvania), and I am having to borrow them back to lend again and again as there are not enough to give each case a new one."

Conference on Better Care

In 1938, the Bureau called a Conference on Better Care for Mothers and Babies. It reported these stark findings:

> "In more than 2,000,000 families in the United States in a single year, the birth of a child is the most important event of the year.
>
> "In more than 150,000 of these families the death of the mother or the newborn baby brings tragedy...
>
> "A quarter of a million women were delivered in 1936 without the advantage of a physician's care; more than 15,000 had no care except that of the family or neighbors . . .
>
> "For the great majority of the 1,000,000 births attended each year in the home by a physician, there is no nurse to help in caring for the mother and the child . . .
>
> "In many communities facilities for hospital care are still lacking or are at a minimum. About 200,000 births occur each year in families which live at least 30 miles from a hospital, frequently under transportation conditions which make it impracticable to take the mother to a hospital in an emergency.
>
> "In urban areas in 1936, 71 percent of the live births occurred in hospitals; in rural areas in the same year 14 percent of the live births occurred in hospitals."

The Conference's concerns were echoed in a report issued the same year by the Interdepartmental Health and Welfare Activities Committee:

> "Today there is a great and unnecessary waste of maternal and infant life; impairment of health is widespread among mothers and children. Physicians, after careful evaluation of causes responsible for the death of individual mothers, report that from one-half to two-thirds of maternal deaths are preventable. It has been shown that the death rate of infants in the first month of life can be cut in half.

> "Knowledge of how life and health may be preserved is at hand; adequate demonstration of the practical application of knowledge with favorable results in the saving of lives and conservation of health has been made; the problem lies in finding the ways and means of making good care available to all in need of such care."

Wartime Pregnancies

But other things happening in 1938 were to draw the world's attention away from the health needs of mothers and children. Neville Chamberlain thought he bought "peace in our time" from Adolph Hitler, and Germany overran Czechoslovakia.

The next year, Germany and Russia signed a non-aggression pact and then both invaded Poland, partitioning it off between them. And World War II began for much of the Western World. It was to strike the United States with dramatic suddenness two years later, at Pearl Harbor.

Even before Pearl Harbor, the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 - the Nation's first peacetime progam of compulsory military service - had sent men by the hundreds of thousands to training bases far from their homes. In many cases their wives followed.

In the summer of 1941, the commanding officer at Ft. Lewis, Washington, sent up a cry for help. The large number of wives seeking maternity care at the fort hospital was putting such a strain on its facilities that the health of not only the mothers and their infants - but of the soldiers as well - was in jeopardy.

The Washington State Health Department submitted a proposal to the Children's Bureau, requesting maternal and child health funds for a small project to serve the new mothers and their infants. The project was approved.

In the succeeding months as other military establishments faced the same crisis, 25 States initiated such programs. By December 1942, most States did not have enough money to continue maternity services for more than a few months.

Help from EMIC

As an emergency war measure in March 1943, Congress added $1 million to the appropriation of the Children's Bureau to help with this problem.

The new service was called Emergency Maternity and Infant Care (EMIC). At the height of the program, it covered one out of every seven births in the United States. The basic purpose of EMIC was to give a serviceman assurance that his pregnant wife and his child would have good medical care, paid for from general tax funds. Men returning from World War II did not face unpaid maternity bills as did those of World War I.

EMIC was operated by State health departments to give medical, nursing, hospital, maternity and infant care to wives and babies of enlisted men in the four lowest pay grades. This represented about three-fourths of the armed forces.

On July 1, 1943, the day these special funds became officially available in New York State, some 500 men and women lined up at the door of the New York City Health Department. Mail and phone calls were overwhelming. This scene was repeated a hundred times throughout the country.

Dr. Leona Baumgartner, Assistant Commissioner of Health, New York City, remembers these new "clinets":

> "What stories they told - completely lost as to where to go, what to do - many young mothers who had never been far from home, mothers with hardly enough to keep themselves and no resources for paying and even planning for the coming baby. Many servicemen home on a brief furlough spent hours finding our office."

EMIC had several long-range effects:

It emphasized quality of care, which raised the local level of maternal and child care in areas where it previously had been low.

For the first time, minimum standards for hospitals, maternity, and newborn services were established in many parts of the country.

Many mothers learned for the first time what good health supervision and medical care for an infant really is.

During 1943-48, the average cost of EMIC completed maternity cases was $92.49 for medical and hospital care, and $63.89 for completed infant care services. The $127 million paid to State health departments brought needed health supervision and medical care for almost 1¼ million mothers and their infants.

The Children's Bureau administreed its responsibilities for the program with its small prewar staff, without any new funds.

Dr. Nathan Sinai, reporting on the EMIC experience, wrote:

> "EMIC serves as a striking demonstration of joint effort and of administrative resiliency. It would be hard to find another wartime program that grew to such comparatively huge proportions and still remained within the framework of an existing national, State, and local peacetime administration."

The program was a dramatic example of agencies working together - both the public tax-supported agencies and private agencies - the American Red Cross, the Maternity Center Association, Army and Navy relief societies, State and national medical societies, welfare councils and agencies and nurses' groups.

Perhaps the best measure of the success of EMIC is the fact that the national infant mortality rate dropped from 45.3 per 1,000 live births in 1941 to 31.3 in 1949, the year the program ended.

HEALTH PERSONNEL

Shortly after the end of World War II, President Harry S. Truman reminded the Congress about inequities in the distribution of medical personnel, hospitals, and other health facilities:

> "Although local public health departments are now maintained by some 1,800 counties and other local units, many of these have only skeleton organizations, and approximately 40,000,000 citizens of the United States still live in communities lacking full-time public health service.
>
> "At the recent rate of progress in developing such service, it would take more than a hundred years to cover the whole Nation."

The problem of health personnel - trained and distributed where needed - has been an underlying theme of the story of child health in this century. In 1930, when there were an estimated 47,000 midwives, the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection reported that owing to a lack of physicians, the midwife was still essential.

Starting with the first midwives' school of obstetrics at Bellevue Hospital in 1911, city after city and State after State made efforts to train midwives and bring them under some kind of medical supervision so that they could assist mothers in deliveries, rather than contribute to maternal and infant mortality.

But coincident with President Truman's warning about the need for expanded public health services, in 1945 the Children's Bureau's Advisory Committee on Maternal and Child Health admitted:

> "It is the feeling of this Committee that until such time as there are available hospitals and facilities with sufficient qualified professional personnel to serve all regions in the United States, the services of qualified nurse-midwives

> are needed in some areas, provided they work under competent medical supervision with availability of hospital care as needed. To this end, training facilities for nurse-midwives should be expanded."

The American Academy of Pediatrics, in its benchmark study of child health services and pediatric education (1947), reported:

> "Three-fourths of this private medical care of children is in the hands of general practitioners. Not only do general practitioners take care of most sick children, but they, as a group, do most of the well-child supervision.
>
> "The present system of medical education is poorly adapted to train a physician for a general practice so largely concerned with the care of children. Of the total hours which medical schools allot to pediatrics, certain schools provide over 300 hours in clinical clerkship in pediatrics. Others provide less than 50, which means that some students are graduated having received less than 50 hours of actual contact with child patients during their pediatric course.
>
> "Medical centers have increased in number and have widened the area of their services. Yet there is a time lag, and a serious one, between the newer knowledge of the medical center and its application to those living in places from which the medical center cannot be readily reached . . . . It must not be assumed that these isolated counties are all wide-open spaces sparsely populated - 13,000,000 children, one-third of the total child population, live in these counties.
>
> "The need for increased hospital facilities throughout the country, especially in remote areas, has been recognized and is now being

> met under provisions of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act (the Hill-Burton program). . . . However . . .. only insofar as well trained physicans are available to staff these hospitals will a better distribution of medical care be effected."

Job to be Done

The job to be done was formidable, as reported by the President's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation in 1953:

> "The proportion of births in hospitals has been steadily increasing, reaching a level of 86.7 percent for the country as a whole in 1949."

And the Commission commented on the postwar baby boom:

> "There have never been so many children in the United States as there are today. . . This increase in the number of births and in the number of young children creates a need for more doctors and dentists, more nurses, maternity services, more well-baby conferences, more baby food and diapers, more clothing and housing. Each year a million more children are reaching school age than in prewar years. By 1957 our elementary schools should be prepared to accommodate 8 million more children than in 1947."

Surgery for Blue Babies

The need for training was dramatically underlined when two doctors at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Dr. Helen B. Taussig and Dr. Alfred Blalock, developed the now famous "blue baby" operation that permitted surgical bypass around congenital heart defects in infants.

Between 1944 and 1949, 828 young patients were operated on for this type of congenital heart malformation. Studies showed they had an 85 percent chance of coming through the operationg greatly improved and maintaining that improvement.

But the problem was that not enough doctors had been trained to perform this kind of surgery. The Children's Bureau stepped in with a plan to establish regional heart centers so that children, whatever their geographic location, could get skilled surgical treatment within a reasonable distance of their homes.

While more and more surgeons acquired skills in the blue baby operation, a vast new area - open heart surgery - was initiated by Dr. C. Walton Lillehei. At first the complex operation was performed largely at the University of Minnesota regional center - again, because surgeons at other hospitals did not have the training and experience.

In 1955, the center estimated its waiting list for open heart surgery, including children from both Minnesota and out of State, would take eights months to complete.

In 1958, because of the high cost and increasing demands of this form of surgery, the Congress made a supplemental appropriation to replenish funds available to the States for the care of children with operable cardiac defects.

Under the State crippled children's programs, the number of children receiving care for congenital heart defects increased from 2,200 in 1950 to 10,000 in 1957.

And a decade later, New England established the first regional infant cardiac program, which arranged for the transportation of newborns with heart defects to one of the participating cardiac centers for diagnosis and surgery. This program, it was estimated, saved the lives of about 50 percent of the babies with heart defects in the New England region. Early diagnosis and surgery performed by skilled surgeons was the lifesaving difference.

The concept of making trained health manpower go as far as possible was put to use in specialized clinics to serve children. Many States set up child amputee clinics to give prosthetic help and rehabilitative training to the constantly growing number of children who had been maimed in accidents. Adolescent clinics were established in key areas of the country in the 1960s, when the health of the adolescent was first recognized as a distinctly neglected area of health protection.

Conquest of Polio

Summer was a time of dread for parents - particularly for parents of young children - who knew that this was the peak danger period for the disease that could cripple or kill their children: poliomyelitis. In 1952, for example, there were 21,000 new cases of paralytic polio.

From the 1930s on, the National Foundation had asked for public support of its March of Dimes program for two purposes: to treat polio victims and to fund research that would develop a way to end the threat of poliomyelitis.

Dr. Jonas E. Salk, a virologist at the University of Pittsburg, was one of many research scientists working on this problem. After much investigation, he produced a polio vaccine that could be administered by injection. Field trials of the vaccine were conducted.

Then, on April 12, 1955, reporters were summoned to Rackham Hall on the University of Michigan campus.

And when Dr. Thomas Francis, Jr., finished reading his scientific paper explaining the development of the vaccine, the message went out on the teletype: "SALK POLIO VACCINE IS SAFE, EFFECTIVE AND POTENT."

In some places, bells tolled. In a courtroom, a moment of silence was observed. Many department stores announced the news over their loudspeaker systems.

To hospitalized polio victims, for whom the vaccine came too late, it was still good news: no other children need fear paralysis. Some hospital wards held parties for these children.

The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare took on the task of making sure that the polio vaccine was adequately produced, under safe conditions, in sufficient quantity to be available to all those who needed this immunization. This was the department established by President Dwight D. Eisenhower April 11, 1953, to bring together all those elements of Government which affected the well-being of people.

When the Department had difficulty in making adequate supplies of vaccine available quickly, parents in hundreds of communities held protest meetings, wrote their Congressmen, and vigorously communicated their vital concern for the safety of their children. It was a striking example of the participation of the taxpayer-consumer in the conduct of his Government.

In 1957, Dr. Albert B. Sabin, a Russian-born bacteriologist, discovered an attenuated strain of poliomyelitis for each of the three strains of the disease and developed an oral vaccine for each.

Children and young people in every community in the country lined up to get sugar cubes impregnated with the vaccine. At first, the cubes were put on tables, so that children could put them directly in their mouths. But this practice was ended when those at the distribution stations learned some of the preschoolers were taking several lumps of the "candy."

Citizens' Health Groups

The success of the National Foundation project spurred efforts of other national voluntary organizations.

The National Society for Crippled Children and Adults had defined a crippled child as "an individual who at birth, or by reason of illness or injury, is deprived of normal functions of his neuromusclar and associated skeletal system."

The State crippled children's programs were expanding their own definitions of crippled children eligible for care as new knowledge developed. The national voluntary groups were concerned not only with adequate care for these children but with achieving national awareness of how many there were - and, more importantly - how they could be both treated and helped during their adolescent years to prepare to function as fully as possible in the world.

The Allergy Foundation of America estimated that at least 17 million Americans suffered from allergic diseases, including 14 percent of all children (more than 9 million). The foundation has warned that more than 40 percent of upper respiratory allergies in childhood eventually develop into bronchial asthma.

The United Epilepsy Association and the National Epilepsy League campaigned to correct public misinformation and prejudices about the problems of epileptics - 275,000 of them children and youth under 21 years of age.

The American Hearing Society, working to gain public awareness of the problems of hearing loss and to get more facilities to serve those with loss of hearing, reported that 1.3 million school-age children had impaired hearing, and from one-fourth to one-third of these had hearing losses sufficient to handicap them.

The National Society for the Prevention of Blindness estimated that 7.5 million school children needed eye care, 80,000 had serious optical handicaps and 6,000 were completely blind.

The problems of sight were of particular concern to both public and voluntary efforts for child health. Because about 80 percent of learning by school children is visual, the National Medical Foundation for Eye Care was established by a group of ophthalmologists to promote more effective use of ophthalmology to prevent blindness and sight impairment in children.

The American Optometric Association's Committee on Visual Problems of Children and Youth pointed out that more than 80 percent of delinquent and predelinquent children did not have satisfactory reading skills and that for 50 percent of these children, vision was a contributing factor.

The United Cerebral Palsy Associations estimated that 10,000 babies born each year have cerebral palsy. These groups bend their efforts toward research into the causes and prevention of CP.

The Muscular Dystrophy Associations of America estimated that muscular dystrophy affected approximately 130,000 children between the ages of 3 and 13 years.

The Association for the Aid of Crippled Children has concentrated on rehabilitation. In a statement made in the 1950s, it said that it is "pushing back the very frontiers of the world in which the handicapped child lives - our feeling today about these, our handicapped children, is one of hope, for at long last they do not walk alone."

Mental Retardation

The AACC statement accurately reflected the Nation's increasing awareness of the problems of physically handicapped children. But until the decade of the '50s, there had not been a similar significant change in national attitude toward mentally retarded children. Parents of some of these children had kept them hidden away in attics for years, afraid of the general lack of understanding of their plight - afraid, also, of the ridicule that their other normal children might have to face from their schoolmates.

Many parents sent the retarded to "asylums" or "schools" run by the States. In 1893, a report by the superintendent of the Kansas Asylum for Idiotic and Imbecile Youth stated:

> "The most aggravating and difficult condition which has confronted the management of the institution is the number of inmates who were confirmed masturbators. . . I called in consultation three of the most eminent and learned physicians and surgeons in this vicinity, and, after a thorough examination and careful study of each person so afflicted, we

> decided that a surgical operation was the only means by which a cure could be effected.

"Accordingly, one of the most debased victims of that habit was selected, and the operation of castration performed under anesthesia and antiseptic precautions. The boy did not seem to suffer any pain. . . I believe every parent in the State of Kansas who has children here . . . would, after examining into the condition of those boys operated on, and observing the improvement in their condition, request the same treatment extended to their boys."

Walter E. Fernald, one of the pioneers in humane treatment of the retarded who served as superintendent of the Massachusetts School for the Feebleminded (now Fernald School) predicted in 1899:

> "Aside from the immediate disciplinary and educational value of work, the only possible way that a feeble-minded person can be fitted to lead a harmless, happy and contented existence after he has grown to adult life is by acquiring in youth the capacity for some form of useful work."

Half a century later, the Southbury Training School in Connecticut reported that it had sent 342 children (15 percent of its enrollment) out on job placements. In 12 years they had earned $1,327,813.

An insight into future methods of preventing mental retardation was given in 1944 by Dr. C. Stanley Raymond, superintendent of the Waltham, Massachusetts, State School: "Improvements in prenatal care and in obstetric techniques are bound to lessen the number of accidental cases of mental defect occurring in utero or at the time of delivery."

The parents of the retarded began to meet together, form groups, speak out on behalf of their children. They worked hard to create local diagnostic and guidance centers and to increase the facilities available for treatment and care.

Early in the 1950s, they formed themselves into the National Association for Retarded Children (later broadened to National Assocation for Retarded Citizens), and began button-holing their Congressmen asking for Federal aid for the retarded - aid to treat and to prevent retardation, and aid also toward the enormous expense of institutionalizing those children who could not be left in their home communities.

In fiscal year 1957, Congress earmarked $1 million, which it added to appropriations of the Children's Bureau to make maternal and child health grants to States for special projects to demonstrate diagnosis and treatment methods for retarded children.

The interest of President John F. Kennedy in the problems of mental retardation was to have a profound effect on health services for mothers and children.

In 1962, the President's Panel on Mental Retardation called for a program of national action to combat retardation.

In 1963, President Kennedy told the Nation:

> "Mental retardation strikes children without regard for class, creed or economic level. Each year sees an estimated 126 thousand new cases. But it hits more often - and harder - at the underpriviliged and the poor; and most often of all - and most severely - in city tenements and rural slums where there are heavy concentrations of families with low income.
>
> "Lack of prenatal and postnatal health care, in particular, leads to the birth of brain-damaged children or to an inadequate physical and neurological development. Areas of high infant mortality are often the same areas with a high incidence of mental retardation. Studies have shown that women lacking prenatal care have a much higher likelihood of having mentally retarded children."

Special Projects

The program which the President proposed was enacted into law as the Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments of 1963. It included a 5-year program of project grants to stimulate State and local health departments to plan, initiate and develop comprehensive maternity and child health care service programs - primarily helping families in the high-risk group who otherwise were unable to pay for needed medical care. Another provision was for comprehensive multidisciplinary training of specialists who work with the handicapped and retarded.

As with other sections of title V of the Social Security Act, the task of administrering the program was given to the Children's Bureau in the Department of Heath, Education, and Welfare.

In the spring of 1964, the first special projects under the new law were set up. These maternity and infant care projects were designed to provide comprehensive care to low-income and high-risk groups of pregnant women and their babies. There was a pressing need for such services.

The national infant mortality rate, while decreasing during the 20th century, remains a national concern. It stood at 99.9 per 1,000 live births in 1915 (based on limited birth registration), at 85.8 in 1920, and at 67.6 in 1929. By 1936, the first year that title V of the Social Security Act was in operation, there were 57.1 infant deaths per 1,000 live births. With the maternity services provided for wives of servicemen, the rate dropped from 45.3 per 1,000 live births in 1941 to 31.3 in 1949, the year EMIC ended.

Between 1950 and 1960, infant mortality in the United States declined by 11 percent. But between 1955 and 1960, it decreased by only 1.5 percent. By 1960, nine of the ten largest cities had infant mortality rates that exceeded the national rate of 26.0 per 1,000 live births.

In most of these cities, the infant mortality rate went up - in one city by 26.4 percent during the five-year period. The national infant mortality rate was 43.2 for other than white infants.

There were tremendous shifts in the national population. Automation of farms drove many rural residents to the cities in search of different kinds of employment. Urban growth continued its wartime spurt. Housing in suburban areas increased. The resident population in the cities was increasingly made up of low-income families, with larger proportions of blacks than at any previous time in our national history.

Need for Prenatal Care

The mounting influx of people into the cities - many with very low incomes - put a special burden on welfare and health departments and the voluntary agencies which were trying to meet their needs.

This was particularly true for maternity patients. In the spring of 1963, Dr. Arthur J. Lesser, then director, Division of Health Services, Children's Bureau, in the first Jessie M. Bierman Annual Lecture in Maternal and Child Health told about some of the results of the migration:

> "The crowding in Chicago has reached such proportions that last year Cook County Hospital delivered almost 20,000 patients and the hospital is reported to be about to lose it accreditation...
>
> "On November 15, 1962, Mayor Wagner announed the opening of a pediatric treatment clinic at the Bedford-Stuyvesant Health Center in Brooklyn, 'in order to relieve long lines of mothers waiting with their children' for care at the overcrowded hospitals in the area...
>
> "In Atlanta, 23 percent of women delivered at the Grady Hospital had had no prenatal care."

Dr. Lesser set forth some of the reasons for the lack of prenatal care:

> "Some hospitals require that clinic patients have one or two pints of blood deposited in the blood bank upon admission to the clinic. Inability to meet this requirement delays or leads to the omission of prenatal care. . . Patients spend hours waiting to be seen in the clinic. Impersonal attitudes on the part of the staff, abrupt and hurried treatment, and the general climate of many overcrowded public clinics depreciate the value of the services provided.
>
> ...Some clinics won't admit a patient who applies in the third trimester.
>
> "Time is working against us. . . The rapid growth of the population has not been accompanied by a proportionate increase in physicians. . . The lack of increase in the rate at which physicians are graduated, the decreasing interest in general practice, and the expected increase in the number of births, resulting in an estimated total of 5,000,000 newborn in 1970, means that other than traditional methods of providing medical care must be sought if the situation is not to deteriorate further."

Projects for Mothers, Babies

The new M&I concept was to bring high-quality care to mothers beginning early in the pregnancy and continuing for both mother and baby through the first months of the baby's life. M&I projects were staffed by health teams genuinely concerned about their patients - teams that included obstetricians, gynecologists, pediatricians, and other physicians as necessary, nurses, dentists, nutritionists, medical social workers, and other health-related professionals. Projects made special attempts to reach young pregnant girls, a group that in the past had been medically underserved and was often at extremely high risk during pregnancy.

During the first year that the maternity and infant care projects were in operation, 57,260 women were admitted for high-quality maternity care because they were low-income, high-risk patients. By 1974, 133,199 women were being served annually by the projects.

In 1972, Dr. Arthur Lesser was able to report that a sampling of reduction registered in the infant mortality rate in selected maternity and infant care projects during the period 1965-70 showed a decrease from 28 per 1,000 live births to 20 in Houston, Texas; from 33.6 to 27.2 in Chicago, Illinois, and from 44.4 to 31.3 in St. Louis, Missouri. In New York City, Dr. Lesser reported, "The lowest infant mortality rate in its history - 21.8 - was recorded in 1970, with declines in the rate reported for 24 of the city's health districts."

Children and Youth Projects

In 1965, project grants were initiated to provide comprehensive health services for preschool and school-age children (C&Y projects). Before the end of the decade, programs were also authorized for dental health care of children, family planning, and intensive care of newborn infants.

C&Y projects showed that a continuing program of preventive health care could significantly reduce both the rate of hospitalization and the time children spent in hospitals. The projects also demonstrated how early attention to potential handicapping conditions could improve a child's ability to lead a normal, productive life.

In 1968, there were 118,485 children registered in the C&Y projects. By 1973, the number had increased to 515,000.

Dental Health Projects

The dental care projects demonstrated what good dental care is and what preventive dental care can do for children when begun in the preschool years.

Senator Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.), testifying in 1971 on the proposed expansion of the Federal dental health program, stated:

> "The most compelling reason for an immediate expansion of the Federal dental health effort is presented by the absolute paucity of dental care now available to our children - especially those in low-income families.
>
> "By age 2, half of America's children have decayed teeth. By the time he enters school, the average child has three decayed teeth. By his 15th year, he has 11 decayed, missing or filled teeth . . . Over half of all our children have never been to a dentist, and this proportion is even higher for youngsters living in rural areas..."

"More than 20 million persons have lost all their teeth and another 16 million have lost half or more. Only six persons in every 1,000 in this country possess a full complement of sound teeth."

Intensive Care of Newborns

The eight intensive care projects that were initiated under the Federal program in the 1970s provide life-supporting services to high-risk newborn babies - those with congenital heart disease, birth defects, dangerously low birth weight, or other conditions that threaten healthy survival. For all births recorded at the University of Mississippi Medical Center after the intensive care project opened, the neonatal mortality rate decreased from 26.4 per 1,000 live births in 1969 to 16.2 in fiscal year 1972. The intensive care project at Temple University Hospital in Philadelphia is playing a major role in reducing the hospitals's overall neonatal mortality rate by about one-third. The rate, based on all live births at Temple, dropped from 33.2 per 1,000 live births in 1969 to 20.4 in 1974.

Death Rates of Minorities

While the health status of special groups of American children has been a concern almost since the Nation's founding, the health of people of minority groups received scant attention until the 20th century.

In 1940, Dr. Katherine Bain, then Director, Division of Research in the Children's Bureau, reported "surprising gaps in the literature' about the mortality of blacks and Mexican-Americans. "At birth and at each age level the expectation for life of the Negro is markedly less than that of the white person. The Negro in 1940 had the expectation of life that the white person had in 1901. . .

"That communities fail to provide public health facilities for Negro citizens is one of the major causes of difference in racial health records. Hospital facilities for Negroes are inferior, and in some communities non-existent. Clinics are fewer and are less well equipped and well-manned. This is not true of all cities, of course, but by and large it is true, especially in rural areas or small towns. . .

"There has been frequent comment on the exploiting of the Negro patient by the Negro physician," she stated. "Some of it is true. But the Negro physician is up against the same problem as the white physician, that of combining altruism with making a living. . .The problem of medical care for the low income class remains unsolved for the Negro as for the white family."

In 1953, the President's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation reported:

> "However, a serious problem in respect to hospitalization during childbirth still confronts the Negro population in some of

> the Southern States. In certain rural areas of the South, less than 15 percent of the babies were born in hospitals in 1949. For these babies born at home there may be no medical attention at all, or at best an untrained midwife. In Florida, 45 percent of the deliveries among the Negroes are attended by midwives, most of whom have had little or no training."

Dr. Bain reported a high infant mortality rate for Mexican-Americans. In California, for example, it was more than double the rate for the white population.

She found statistics on American Indians also unreliable "because of the frequency with which births take place without the services of a physician. . .Dr. Townsend, Director of Health, Office of Indian Affairs, estimates the life expectancy at birth for Indians at about 32 years."

Nearly 30 years later, the U.S. Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth reported a "dramatic reduction in tuberculosis among the American Indian and Alaskan native populations. Recently, for the first time there was no pediatric age child hospitalized in the PHS Hospital in Anchorage, Alaska."

During the years since Dr. Bain's report, there have been other improvements in the health of children of minority groups.

The gap in postneonatal mortality between white and all other races was cut from 90 percent in 1964 to 74 percent in 1970. But it was not until 1972 that the other than white neonatal mortality rate (20.6 per 1,000 live births) reached the level which had been reached for white infants in 1949.

Dr. Bain prophesied that "Until a positive attitude is taken toward all health problems of minority groups in this country and until all groups are provided with equal opportunities for practicing the 'art of life', the health of these minority groups will remain below the national average."

The Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments during the sixties were indications of the "positive attitude" Dr. Bain called for.

Institute of Child Health

President Kennedy established a Center for Research in Child Health in the Public Health Service in 1961 (it was renamed the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development in 1962) to "conduct and support . . . research and training related to maternal health, child health and human development, including research and training in the special health problems and requirements of mothers and children and in the basic sciences relating to the processes of human growth and development, including prenatal development."

Also during the first half of the sixties, methods were developed to permit screening for inborn metabolic errors which could lead to severe mental retardation. The first such screening technique, developed for phenylketonuria, resulted in a wave of State laws requiring the screening of all newborn infants.

Parents were active supporters of the PKU screening tests, which opened the doors to hope that even children who were in special danger of becoming mentally retarded could be helped by prompt attention to prevention of damage from metabolic imbalance (in the case of PKU, through special diets.)

The sixties also saw the launching of the Head Start program for preschool children from low-income families, and the passage of legislation requiring early and periodic screening, diagnosis and treatment for children from low-income families both to correct health problems and to prevent new ones from becoming serious.

The national medical assistance program was launched and now pays for medical care for children from low-income families. The voluntary health insurance movement is now financing care for 30 percent of American children. The

Hill-Burton program made it possible to develop a system of community hospitals. And the National Institutes of Health are continuing to conduct research concerning childhood diseases.

Between 1937 and 1964, the crippled children's program doubled the rate at which children received medical services. The Children's Bureau reported: "The one-third of the States with the lowest per capita income have the highest rate of services, including virtually all the Southern States. This is a reflection of the recognition of need, the availability of fewer other resources than the richer States, and the response to the need by the State agencies."

New Child Health Problems

But while all these encouraging events unfolded, there was ample evidence that much more was needed to protect the health of the Nation's children.

In 1970, the American Academy of Pediatrics' Council on Pediatric Practice issued a report, "Lengthening Shadows," which analyzed the delivery of health care to children.

"Within the last decade there has appeared a new set of child health problems, some related to, if not caused by, the social upheaval that started in the early '60s, and some related to current socioeconomic problems. Examples of health problems related to social change include the increased use and abuse of drugs, adolescent pregnancies, increase in venereal disease and child abuse. Problems related to current socioeconomic factors include the recognition of near epidemic proportions of lead poisoning in the cities, exposure to environmental pollution of our food, water and air, and increased incidence of severe accidents."

A joint report issued in 1969 by the American Public Health Associaton, the American Social Health Association and the American Venereal Disease Association pointed out:

"While the total number of persons in the United

> States reported as newly infected with gonorrhea continues to increase each year at a progressively higher rate, the number of teenagers 15 to 19 years old who become infected rises even more rapidly. The total number of gonorrhea cases in the U.S. increased by 15.1 percent from calendar year 1966 to 1967; the number of cases among teenagers increased by 20.2 percent . . . Based on reported cases only, the ratio of gonorrhea among teenagers in 1967 was one to every 200 teenagers in the U.S."

At the Harlem Hospital Center, Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons, Drs. Leonard Glass and Hugh E. Evans have observed a number of babies born to mothers who are narcotic addicts. The physicians reported:

> "In recent years the growing use of opiates during pregnancy has been associated with a marked increase in the number of [illegible] infants exhibiting symptoms of acute withdrawal after delivery. In 1966, 200 cases were reported on New York City birth certificates. In 1970 this figure had risen to 489. . . Most pregnant addicts have a history of very poor diets and little or no obstetric are."

A Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States held public hearings in 1968 and reported:

> "Hunger and malnutrition take their toll in this country in the form of infant death, organic brain damage, retarded growth and learning rates, increased vulnerability to disease, withdrawal, apathy, alienation, frustration and violence. . .There is a shocking absence of knowledge in this country about the extent and severity of malnutrition - a lack of information and action which stands in marked contrast to our recorded knowledge in other countries."

To these situations - all of which could be alleviated through some course of action - must be added child health problems that have been with us as far back as history has been recorded; blindness, eye disorders, and deafness. But these afflictions also seem to be taking on new dimensions.

In 1966, the U.S. Public Health Service reported:

> "Children's eye disorders often result in reading disabilities which interfere with learning. It is now apparent that some reading disabilities are neurologic in origin. This means that a clearer understanding of the neurologic mechanisms will be necessary before prevention or correction is possible."

Earlier, at the New York Psychiatric Institute, psychologist Edna S. Levine had pointed out, "The handicaps of deafness are often as obscure to parents as to the public at large. The relationship between the inability to hear and the inability to speak is grasped readily enough. But beyond this point the complications are difficult to follow . . . There is no overnight miracle for the child who is deaf. He has a long, hard road ahead with many obstacles and pitfalls. But once he attains his goal he stands forth as one of the educational phenomena [illegible] all time."

Prescription for Child Health

The American Academy of Pediatrics reports:

> "Newly recognized disease, such as PKU, caused by inherited defects in metabolism, have been identified and their treatment determined. The development of new methods to study chromosomes has resulted in the ability to identify an increasing number of genetically determined diseases.
>
> "Almost without exception, diagnosis and treatment of these diseases are complex and require new teams of specialized health

> manpower and expensive equipment that must be centralized in a medical center. And, after this treatment has been given, there is frequently a need for a multidisciplinary team to provide rehabilitative services."

The Academy's prescription for child health:

> "Those involved with child health care have increasingly recognized the importance of prevention and early recognition (of disease) and have further developed the type of care currently referred to as child health supervision.
>
> "This type of care now includes nutritional counseling, immunization programs, surveillance of growth and development, anticipatory guidance for behavioral and maturational problems, and the treatment of acute and minor diseases. This has become recognized as the ideal type of comprehensive health care for infants and children. . .When it is provided, it no doubt results in optimal health care for infants and children."

Optimal Health Care

"Optimal health care," as it is defined as the Nation celebrates its bicentennial year, would have been inconceivable even at the dawn of the 20th century.

The fact that it took the Federal Government until 1912 to establish a bureau concerned with the health and well-being of children - and that it was the first Nation in the world to do so - indicates the measure of our rapid advance within a relatively short span of time.

For today, located in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are a number of agencies which either exclusively concern themselves with the health of mothers and children, or whose programs affect the health of mothers and children.

The oldest of them are the programs which now comprise title V of the Social Security Act. From the time the Social Security Act was passed in 1935 until 1969, when the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reorganized the social welfare elements of its programs, title V was administered by the Children's Bureau.

Since 1969, maternal and child health, crippled children's services and special project grants, as well as research and training geared to programs affecting mothers and children, have been a part of the Public Health Service. Title V programs are now located in the Office for Maternal and Child Health, Bureau of Community Health Services, Health Services Administration.

The unique nature of the title V programs is their emphasis on promoting the health of mothers and children. For example, members of health-related professions are eligible for training through title V only if the professional training will be of value to groups of children - such as the retarded - who need a whole team of medical experts to meet their needs. In addition to training multidisciplinary teams, the title V training program assists those who will assume leadership positions in directing programs affecting the health of mothers and children throughout the country.

The title V research program is also specifically directed at improving the quality and breadth of the services available to mothers and children.

It works in close cooperation with the National Institute for Child Health and Human Development, which is concerned with finding answers to questions about conditions that now are working to the disadvantage of children. Most recently, both agencies are trying to solve the complexities of the sudden infant death syndrome.

All other programs administered by the Bureau of Community Health Services also serve mothers and children in meeting health needs of a specific clientele. These programs and the target groups to which they are directed include -

- .Migrant Health Program, to the families who migrate to harvest the Nation's crops.

- .Community Health Centers, to families who live in areas where medical services need to be augmented.

- .National Health Service Corps, to families where medical services scarcely exist.

- .Family Planning, to families that want to choose the number of children they feel they can offer economic and emotional support.

- .Health Maintenance Organizations, to groups of doctors who want to practice group medicine to help solve the health problems of families.

Elsewhere in the Public Health Service, the Indian Health Service specifically concerns itself with the health of all members of families of American Indians; the Emergency Medical Service is trying to make more services available to communities where any family member might need quick transport to a hospital in case of a health crisis or an accident.

The Center for Disease Control not only monitors the incidence of diseases, but also supports the efforts of States to immunize their populations (particularly children) against infectious disease. CDC also administers the provisions of lead-based paint poisoning legislation designed to protect children from the threat of brain damage from lead.

Elsewhere in the Department, Head Start offers health services to preschool-age children who are enrolled in its programs. Rehabilitative services for children are offered both by the Office for Human Development and the Office of Education. The Social and Rehabilitation Service administers the Federal aspects of Medicaid, a program that helps low-income families receive the medical care they need. In addition, the Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment program that SRS administers is lauching efforts to reach low-income children while they are in school and correct or reduce health problems before severe handicaps develop.

The roll call of activities could go on and on.

THE NATION'S PRINCIPAL RESOURCE

All these activities are designed to preserve and enhance the Nation's principal resource: its children. Determination to do this was well expressed by Grace Abbott 40 years ago:

> "Sometimes when I get home at night in Washington I feel as though I had been in a great traffic jam. The jam is moving toward the Hill where Congress sits in judgment on all the administrative agencies of the Government. In that traffic jam there are all kinds of vehicles moving up toward the Capitol . . . There are all kinds of conveyances that the Army can put into the street - tanks, gun carriers, trucks...There are the hayricks and the binders and the ploughs and all the other things that the Department of Agriculture, manages to put into the streets. . .the handsome limousines in which the Department of Commerce rides. . .the barouches in which the Department of State rides in such dignity. It seems so to me as I stand on the sidewalk watching it become more congested and more difficult, and then because the responsibility is mine and I must, I take a very firm hold on the handles of the baby carriage and I wheel it into the traffic."

Chapter IV

A Nation of Learners*

Education and The American Society
by
Oscar Handlin**

The Revolution marked a decisive new departure in the history of education, as in many other aspects of American culture - or at least, so it seemed to contemporaries. Previously, as the conventional wisdom then prevalent had it, the colonists had been shackled by the European past; anachronistic ideas and outmoded institutions had stifled innovation and inhibited progress. Now liberated, the citizens of the Republic would develop new models of instruction. Free men, stimulated by the environment of opportunity, would transform every aspect of the learning process. New colleges sprouted rapidly; and the Nation buzzed with schemes for improvement nurtured by confident expectations that the obligations of citizenship required a system of education capable of training the latter day equivalents of Roman senators.

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The reality, however, did not quite match the rhetoric. The intellectuals who wielded the pen in graceful essays were free and easy in their promises of the inevitable rewards of such a system. But the hardbitten farmers, merchants, and artisans who held the purse strings were cautious indeed as they counted up the costs in increased taxes. Many a good intention withered, unfilled; and most of the newly founded colleges either never opened their doors or quickly closed them. Besides, a society long close to the frontier found difficulty in recruiting and holding talented teachers.

Above all, it proved not at all easy to break away from the traditions of the Colonial ear. The Revolution did make a difference, not because it marked a turn in a totally new direction, but because the fruitful debate it evoked compelled people to consider what they had formerly taken for granted. The result was not a total break with the past, but a subtle shift in the pace and emphasis of development.

Well before 1776, American education felt the pressure of competing, even contradictory, impulses that continued to create cross-currents in its development for two centuries. An endlessly unravelling argument thus echoed through the decades between those who insisted that the primary function of the schools was to transmit an inherited body of culture and those who wished to focus attention on training in useful skills. The inability to make a clear cut choice created one of the persistent patterns in the mode of learning in the United States.

From the very start, it seemed plausible to expect that the schools would preserve the European culture, secular and religious, that had crossed the Atlantic with the first settlers. The founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony worried lest they and their children be left without a ministry capable of reading and interpreting God's word, as handed down in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Scriptures; and they feared also how their experiment would fare if future generations, reared in the wildnerness, grew up in ignorance. The Puritans were not alone in the dread that the departure from the mother country might lead to a relapse to barbarism. The men and women who came to New Netherland and the colonies to the south shared that sentiment, although to a less intense degree, and hoped that by providing enough instruction they could head it off.

Colonial society did become more stable; but with the emergence of the 18th century. Americans still felt the dependence of provincials upon the metropolis. The most important influences in religion, science, art, and literature emanated from England, and in the New World only the school could equip young people with the knowledge and skills to receive and assimilate the developments in those fields across the ocean.

Independence, paradoxically, heightened the need. The national emotions stirred up by the Revolution prodded Americans into proving that their culture was not inferior to that of the Old World. Frenetic efforts to develop a unique literature, art, and architecture yielded an outpouring of lengthy epics, massive canvasses, and ambitious proposals for great monuments. Noah Webster, for the same reason, compiled spellers and dictionaries to help define the distinctive language of his country, and Thomas Jefferson dreamed of a hierarchy of schools which would train the talented to lead the Nation.

Despite the straining for difference, however, the language of the United States retained its roots in that of England, as did the literature, art, and architecture. The desire for achievement emphasized the importance of mastery of the European techniques available to most Americans only through the formal educational system. The sciences were as important as the arts and the classics in the process of transmittal; as long as Europe took the lead in discovery and scholarship, the school was the most important means of following. Well into the 20th century, American boys and girls struggled with Latin and algebra to catch up with the Old World, and to surpass it. Large borrowings from abroad shaped the content of a good part of their instruction.

Furthermore, after independence, each successive wave of immigrants repeated the experience of the early pioneers. The attitudes of the Irish, Germans, Poles, and Jews were as ambiguous as those of the Puritans had been. All were eager to justify their departure from the old homeland by stressing the distinctive quality of the culture they would develop in the New World. On the other hand, they were equally determined somehow to transfer to their adopted country the values brought from the places of their birth. They wished their children to become American, to learn English, yet also not to forget the ancestral heritage. Always the schools accepted as one of their functions preservation of the Nation's antecedent heritage. Precisely because the schools stood somewhat apart from life, were not altogether practical. Americans looked to them for performance of that task.

Yet the schools were also expected to be "useful," a function not altogether compatible with that of a repository of culture and therefore always a source of tension.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, most useful - which is to say practical - skills in the society were acquired in workshops or on farms, within the family or through apprenticeship. Only gentlemen then wished more learning than was required to read the Bible. As time passed and society became more democratic, access to the schools spread and with it a desire to alter their curriculums in more practical direction. Early on, for instance, writing schools trained young men in utilitarian arts, not only those of penmanship but also the related skills connected with the conduct of business enterprise. That made sense. Citizens who grudged a few extra tax dollars annually for the public schools willingly paid the fees to equip their sons with a fine hand or with the secrets of double-entry bookkeeping that would help in later life. In the 19th century, the same impulse led to the formation in many cities of mechanics' institutes in which ambitious young men could improve themselves, that is, acquire information that would expand their earning power. Private, proprietary, "business colleges" in time performed the same function.

Yet Americans were not content to let these eminently practical and useful subjects stand merely for what they were. Instead, an insistent trend drew together technical and traditional instruction, partly out of the democratic belief that a unified educational system ought to include all forms of learning, partly out of a sneaking respect for culture and resentment of any elite efforts to monopolize it.

The institutions supported by public funds most clearly demonstrated the process of adaptation. Urban high schools and manual training institutes and rural State universities claimed support on the basis of the utility of what they taught; their initial problem was to overcome the hostility of farmers and artisans who argued that the best way to learn was in the field by wielding a pitchfork or the shop by swinging a hammer. It was then necessary to disclaim any pretensions to fancy courses, dead languages, and parchment diplomas. But no sooner was the building up and the appropriation in hand than the polish began. The literary and the abstract intruded into the curriculum, and the distinction between the practical and the cultural began to waver.

The standing interplay within the same system between utilitarianism and the pressures toward broad general education was distinctive to the United States. In Europe the line which led from elementary school through the lycée to the university was entirely separate from that which led to technical and vocational training. In America, the historic need to accommodate the two together influenced both types of instruction; the cultural and practical, never permitted to stray far apart, remained exposed to the question, What were they for? To that extent, the system always remained accountable to society.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the schools acquired still another function, that of classifying the students who passed through them in order to direct each to the occupation appropriate to his or her talents. Education was subtly lined to social mobility.

Until then, the family had borne the obligation of sorting out and preparing the members of the oncoming generation for their status in life. Daughters, as a matter of course, were expected to play the same role as their mothers, and sons to ply the trades of their fathers. When the great bulk of the population was agricultural, the problem of choice had not been difficult; one generation followed another, in the same calling although perhaps in a different location. In town, also, the family was crucial; boys either picked up the parental craft at home or learned through apprenticeship in another household. Even the ambitious youngsters who wished to move into the learned professions - divinity, law, and medicine - usually did so by serving a minister, lawyer, or doctor; as late as Lincoln's time, no formal procedures for schooling in the professions were required.

Powerful social and economic forces altered the situation in the 19th century. The population never ceased to move - from East to West, from South to North, away from the country into the city, away from agriculture into industry. New machines, new sources of power, and new methods of distribution transformed the most important branches of the productive system. Apprenticeship therefore decayed, except in a few sheltered crafts like the building trades, in which traditional techniques remained intact. In the fluid, ever-changing environment of the United States after 1870, children no longer took it for granted that they would usually follow the occupations of their parents. Kinship networks were no longer adequate, and an alternative method of finding niches for the young or of sorting them out and preparing them for future careers was essential.

Americans thrust the responsibility for performing that function upon the schools and, in the process, transformed the system of education so that it could do the job of selection and of vocational training. The schools were the appropriate instruments because they had long asserted the claim that they were useful and at the same time the conveyors of culture; they could demonstrate the validity of their claim by providing a series of filters at the crucial stages of life which would direct each individual to the station his talents deserved The Jeffersonian view of education as an instrument for defining the aristocracy of talent to lead the Nation thus broadened into a vision of a mechanism for assigning all places in society.

The concept of the school as the testing ground for ability was in accord with the democratic impulses gaining power as the century drew to a close. It offered a means of dissolving all the relics of privilege and inherited status which limited equality of opportunity. Within the walls of the school neither family, nor wealth, nor race, nor creed would count, only merit. On this neutral ground, therefore, each person could compete without handicap in the contest for the success to which all aspired. That the practice fell far short of these standards, and that family, race, and creed still counted did not diminish the power of the ideal.

For a century, American schools struggled to adapt themselves for service as channels of social mobility. Only criteria, administration, organization, and teaching that were uniform and standard would enable them to turn out a product bearing credentials recognizable as valid in every part of the country. The old hit-or-miss days when each institution devised its own curriculum and hired whatever instructors it could afford were no longer adequate. A system developed within which the child passed through successive, clearly articulated stages to his destination. Elementary, secondary, and higher education formed a three-tiered mechanism of scrutiny, teaching, and testing, in the effort to locate ability and to direct each pupil to his or her proper role in life.

To insure the efficiency of the process demanded professionalism of staff. Trained teachers and administrators would not only command knowledge of the subjects taught but also of the procedures for conveying the information and skills and for evaluating the progress of the students. The evolving bureaucratic structure crowded out the casuals who had formerly moved in and out of teaching, the expedients being to insist upon a defined course of preparation and to establish firm qualifications for entering upon and advancing in careers in the schools.

In retrospect, the imperfections of the system are evident. Residual biases favored some families, ethnic groups, regions, and classes at the expense of others. From the perspective of the 1970s, the conditions of competition seem to have been far from equal, and the very conception of a merit-oriented competitive process may be questioned. But viewed in the context of the era in which it developed, the educational system deserves a more favorable judgment; in a period of rapid change, it undoubtedly furthered social mobility and it inhibited stratification, thus helping to preserve in an industrial environment the open access to opportunity the frontier had provided in the rural past.

The evolving American shools after 1870 also performed another social function. Ever more often they were expected, in addition to whatever else they did, to act as agencies of acculturation and assimilation, instructing their charges in a wide variety of modes of correct behavior, ranging in scope from the proper methods of brushing the teeth to safe driving.

All those matters of health, hygiene, manners, and morals had formerly been among the duties of the family and the church. Changing circumstances had brought them within the orbit of the school. A relatively homogeneous, largely rural society had been able to leave these concerns in private hands on the assumption that everyone shared the same communal views and attitudes. Any child, reared in any good family and any church, would learn the same lessons of duties to himself and to his neighbors. The few who did not were subjects of correction and care by institutions for deviants.

These assumptions became ever less tenable after 1870. The population remained unsettled and in a fashion more disconcerting than before. The Yankees who moved from Connecticut to Ohio in 1820 carried with them family structure, style of life, and churches - not totally intact, perhaps, but intact enough to adapt to the new environment. By contrast, migrants who arrived in Chicago after 1870 found that the urban situation radically transformed all transplanted institutions. In the great anonymous, impersonal cities, conventional controls lost their binding quality, the influence of parents and churches grew weaker, and the intermixture of diverse peoples undermined the assumption that all shared the same values. Old maxims did not readily apply to the new circumstances; the tried and true injunctions to neighborliness, thrift, honesty, and respect for the rights of others did not as neatly fit the circumstances on the sidewalks of New York as they had down on the farm.

The discrepancies were most evident in relationship with the millions of European, Canadian, and Mexican immigrants. The men and women who met the Nation's need for labor seemed totally alien, babbling away in incomprehensible tongue, worshiping in strange churches, and set apart by culture, life style, and ways of thinking. There could be no assurance that the Poles, Italians, Jews, and Turks who resided in close propinquity to one another and to the native Americans could comprehend one another or coexist without conflict or disorder. Yet the children growing up in such families were Americans; and they would some day have to deal as citizens with New World problems. They could hardly be expected to learn to do so in Old World homes. They would have to find the way through some other agency.

The plight of the children of native Americans, while less visible, was almost as grave. They too suffered from the inadequacy of the training available from their parents. As well expect the coachman to teach his sons to drive a locomtive or motor car as expect him to instruct them in the behavior metropolitan life demanded. And indeed, as authority drained away from the family and the church, parents themselves welcomed the opportunity to transfer elsewhere the responsibility for socializing their offspring.

The burden fell upon the already overburdened educational system. The schools were repositories of the sciences which steadily displaced tradition as the source of answers to the important questions of life. To the extent that people sought guidance from medicine, economics, and sociology rather than from the memories of their grandparents, it made sense to entrust children to the institutions which conveyed these organized bodies of knowledge. The schools had the prestige, which family and church lost, to set the standards of correct behavior and thought.

Nevertheless, the schools did not threaten the diversity characteristic of society in the United States. No single group had the power through them to impose its preferences upon the others. Neutrality was a political necessity of public educational systems which could not risk the enmity of any bloc of voters; and dissenters, anyway, always had the option of founding private schools of their own. As a result, deviant views were generally tolerated, even if not accorded complete equality. Administrators and teachers had to balance the certainty that they knew what was good for their pupils against the need for taking account of the variety of views in a pluralistic society.

The efforts of American schools to meet the needs of a rapidly changing and expanding country were only partially successful. The obstacles were immense; everything had to be created afresh; despite the wealth of the country, resources for education were usually meager; and the dispersal of control among many local authorities left no one in a position to define the central goals of the system. Since, in addition, the teaching career in the United States did not customarily attract the most talented, the shortcomings of the schools were hardly surprising. But their achievements were nonetheless impressive, without parallel in the modern world judged by the vast population served, the variety of functions performed, and the social needs met. With all its imperfections, the system of education made significant contributions to democracy in the country within which it operated.

America's Unsystematic Education System

by

Patricia Albjerg Graham*

The American "system of education" is an organizational nightmare but a functional triumph. It nearly defies explanation as a coherent enterprise, but persons regularly emerge from their encounters with it more knowledgeable than when they entered it. If it is to be judged on the educational attainments of the entire American public, then its success is real. However, few American institutions have suffered as much criticism, particularly in the last 24 years, as have those concerned with education.

The paradox of functional success but massive criticism raises perplexing questions about this enigmatic enterprise.

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Apparently it is successfully accomplishing one task while being expected to do another. Six questions seem helpful in approaching some understanding of the American educational system: What is it? What is expected of it? What does it do? Who uses it: Who runs it: and Who pays for it?

What is it? The essential unit of the American educational system (and of any educational system today) is the school - the physical plant and the organization it sumbolizes. Thus, not until the latter part of the 19th century could the United States really be said to have an "educational system" as such, because until that time education had been acquired through a variety of rather haphazard methods. Children studied at home with their parents or with a tutor, or perhaps at the home of a nearby spinster or widow in a "Dame school" with a few other neighborhood children, and only rarely at a building formally designated "school" and subsidized by the local community, the church, the children's tuition, private beneficence, or some combination of these. Such formal work often was supplemented by individual study, by persual of books and local newspapers and journals, by instructional messages embedded in sermons and Sunday school programs, and through apprenticeships both formal and informal to persons who had achieved some degree of mastery of a particular field.

These various ways of learning were by no means mutually exclusive. Generally, a young person encountered several of them en route to adulthood, after which, it was hoped, learning did not stop but was even less likely to be institutionalized than it was in youth. Undoubtedly the most universal form of instruction was apprenticeship, although most apprenticeships were not of the formal variety on the English model that prescribed certain numbers of years of service to the master. Much more common was the informal variety in which a youngster learned one specific skill or a few general ones simply by helping someone who had these skills. For half the population (the female half) this was the basic mode of learning household management. Girls helped their mothers and thereby acquired the necessary cooking techniques, simple sewing skills, and some notion of how to keep a house functioning. Later generations would be taught these topics in junior high school home economics classes.

By the end of the 19th century fundamental changes had occurred in America. Prior to that time an "educated man" in America would undoubtedly have been characterized as one with knowledge of the classics, however that knowledge was gained. Around the turn of the century the popular definition changed so that an "educated man" was one who had been to college. This shift in the public conviction about what constituted education was a crucial one, for it illustrated the belief that education had become a commodity which one got at an educational institution. The era of multiple educational possibilities had faded, and the narrower definition of education as what one learned in school had arrived. This acceptance of the schools as the pre-eminent educational enterprise laid the foundation for the American educational system, for the schools were nearly the only elements within that system until well into the 20th century.

Whether the schools were public, private, or parochial probably made little difference in terms of what the students learned. The different auspices under which the schools functioned did, however complicate the patterns of American education. Numerically the public schools have dominated the enrollments. For most of this century about 85 percent of American school children have attended public schools. Now the figure is over 90 percent, principally as a result of declining enrollments in Roman Catholic schools, which account for 80 percent of the nonpublic school students. The remaining 20 percent of nonpublic school students are either at other religious schools (13 percent) or schools without religious alliliation (seven percent).

Some educators' fascination with the organizational differences between public and private school systems has obscured the essential similarities between them. Both cover a very broad range of schools serving the top, middle, and bottom of the socioeconomic groups in America. Both tend to serve the residential community near them, thus making individual schools relatively homogeneous ethnically and economically. Both use the same curriculum materials and teach courses in similar sequences. These similarities have been true throughout the history of American education. For example, in the early 20th century the differences between a public school located in an immigrant neighborhood with predominantly Jewish families and a Roman Catholic parochial school attached to an ethnic parish composed primarily of Italian immigrant families were not enormous, except, of course, for the addition of Christian doctrine in the parochial school. In both schools a premium was placed upon literacy and upon Americanization, and in neither was there much opportunity to mix with children of other economic or ethnic backgrounds. Today the public schools of Great Neck, Long Island, are probably more similar in curriculum and clientele to such private schools as Dalton and Fieldston, 20 miles away in New York City, than they are to public ones in Wyandanch or Roosevelt, 20 miles in the opposite direction.

Schools, then, whether they be public or private, are the essential element in the network that makes up the American educational system. In recent years they have been supplemented by a variety of other educational enterprises, particularly television, which is likely to become even more important in coming years. The anticipated revolution wrought by audiotapes and videotapes has not yet occurred but it is certainly a technical possibility, although not yet clearly a psychic one. Nonschool institutions still are the chief remaining element in the educational system. Most important among these are libraries, which in this century have become publicly supported and nearly universal throughout the Nation instead of being concentrated among the wealthy and in urban areas. No longer novelties as they were at the turn of the century, social settlements still provide important educational services, as do such other pioneers as county and home demonstration agents. The list could go on, but further additions would not modify the essential picture of the American educational system as a conglomerate of local schools assisted by other local institutions.

What is expected of it? Undoubtedly the most serious problem the American educational system has ever faced is the gap between public expectations of it and its performance. A recent book on the history of American education in the late 19th and 20th century is titled The Imperfect Panacea, and this is a superbly succinct account of the fate of the American educational system.

From Puritan times to the present, education has been asked to solve all kinds of religious, national, social, economic, and even intellectual problems. In the 17th century, education was initimately tied to religious salvation; Puritans believed salvation and ignorance were contradictory. By the late 18th century, Thomas Jefferson more concerned with the problems of this life than the next, looked to education to provide the informed citizenry upon which his notions of the democratic republic rested. "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization," he worte, "it expects what never was and never will be." Concern with the republic and with the citizenry's commitment to it prompted Noah Webster to write his "Grammatical Institute of the English Language, Part I" (less ostentatiously known as the Blue-Backed Speller). There Webster tried to insure that through the widespread use of these materials, the American child would grow up with a body of patriotic allusions common to his fellows. "Let the first word he lisps be Washington," he urged. Later in the 19th century, Horace Mann preached the gospel of the possibilities of the public schools for moral uplift to a predominantly Protestant Massachusetts population beginning to face large Catholic immigration. By the beginning of the 20th century, faced with the immense numbers of immigrants, with the rapidly urbanizing and industrializing nation, and with the tremendous decline in need for unskilled labor, education had a new mission. Via the schools the nascent American educational system was supposed to "Americanize" the immigrants and to make everyone literate in English. Furthermore, it was to provide extended educational opportunities at the high school level to large numbers of children whose parents had never ventured beyond the rudiments of literacy.

Although much has been expected of education in the past, the failure of the schools or other educational agencies to meet these goals, though regrettable, was not as serious as it became in the 20th century. For the first time, literacy - and literacy at a reasonably high level - was crucial. It became very difficult to make a living without it and therefore very obvious when persons could not get or hold jobs because they did not have the necessary skills. The blame was placed on the schools for failing to educate such people properly. Accepting the Mann dogma that the public (or "common") schools brought all children together, the public asked the shools to undertake those difficult social tasks that the society had been unable to deal with itself. For example, when automobile accidents began to be a serious national problem, the solution was to mandate driver training in the schools. A more direct method of coping with the problem would have been to forbid automobile manufacturers to produce automobiles that would go faster than 55 miles an hour, or to enforce a rigid prohibition against driving after any drinking of alcoholic beverages. Only recently has any serious attention been given by manufacturers to improving the safety of their vehicles. Despite widespread acceptance of driver education in schools, auto accidents have not declined.

A far more serious example of expecting the schools to do what the rest of the society either did not want to do or found itself unable to do has been the racial integration issue. Since the Brown v. Board of Education decision in 1954, schools throughout the United States have been wrestling with the question of bringing together in classrooms children whose parents have never associated at work, at church, or at play. Since the schools not only were supposed to make the children literate but also to "socialize" them, it is not surprising that many parents expressed extreme reluctance to see their offspring associate with children whose parents they did not see. Again the schools were asked to assume an impossible burden. If Americans had really wanted integration in the Fifties (and there is little evidence they did, although many said they did), the areas to have moved on were real estate and job recruitment.

In short, the principal expectations for the educational system have been both academic and social. Too often the social problems the school was supposed to solve have overwhelmed it so that it was unable to resolve the academic. Probably the period of most intense criticism of the American educational system came in the early Fifties at the height of the "life adjustment movement" when the critics sought more rigorous academic programs. Few today would maintain that schools are the sole place to learn how to adjust to life; that complicated task is not likely to be accomplished between the ages of six and 16. That such a program could even be inaugurated, however, is indicative of the unwieldy obligations the schools had become accustomed to accepting. In that case, unlike many of the others, they were told to lay the burden down.

What does it do? Despite the fact that the educational system has not brought justice, affluence, and personal fulfillment to all Americans, it has some remarkable achievements. To an important degree it is responsible for America's international intellectual leadership. Obviously many other nations have well-trained scholars, but none is the academic mecca that the United States is today. This has not always been true. Until early in the 20th century the United States suffered an unfavorable academic balance of trade; more American scholars studied abroad than foreigners did here. The shift came primarily as a result of the emphasis upon research at American universities in the years immediately surrounding World War I, a time that sapped the economic, spiritual, and human energies of the previous leaders: Germany, England, and France. American scholarship was also augmented considerably by the arrival of political refugees, particularly from Russia (both are a result of the pogroms and later from the Bolshevik revolution) and later from fascist German, Italy, and Spain. Many of these emigres greatly enhanced the intellectual and cultural life of America, and it is to the credit of the much-maligned educational institutions that they (the universities, in particular) included many of these distinguished scholars on their faculties and enrolled many of their children as students, often with scholarships.

In addition to the substantial intellectual contribution made by these emigres was their social impact. Until their arrival college and university faculties, except for the Catholic institutions, had been composed typically of persons of multi-generation American lineage of Protestant background. Many of the refugees from Hilter, of course, were Jewish, and when they joined American faculties, they were often the first Jews ever to have been appointed to permanent positions. This generation of emigre Jewish intellectuals in turn helped to open the barriers for American Jews to widespread participation in American academic life. Discrimination against Catholics, always less systematic than against Jews, also diminished, but moves to bring blacks and women into the mainstream of American academic life remained for later decades.

There is ample evidence that the American educational system has done well at the top. Comparative studies with other nations show that the academically superior graduates of American secondary schools rate favorably with the top students of more selective secondary programs in other countries. What of the great mass that America attempts to educate? On the whole the degree of success with them is considerable, even though never as great as hoped. Despite the immense diversity of the U.S. population, nearly all are literate and 87 percent of the age group five to 17 are enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools, an increase of 30 percentage points between 1870 and 1970. At the present time over half the high school graduates are continuing their formal educations. Most impressive is the fact that "streaming" (requiring students to make an educational choice, such as a technical institute, which will later limit their vocational choice) is much less characteristic of the U.S. educational system than that of any other industrialized nation.

In addition to educating masses of young people (and large numbers of older ones as well, in community colleges and continuing education programs), the American educational system has specialized in enlarging and broadening curriculum. One can study nearly anything in the United States today and receive academic credit for it. From the constricted offerings of the elementary school at the turn of the century, which typically provided an unpalatable mix of reading, arithmetic, penmanship, Bible study, history, occasionally science, and always "rote work" (memorization), elementary children today look at news under microscopes, write their own stories, learn arithmetic with a computer, and replace history with economics based on experiences in the local stores. Even more dramatic changes have occurred in the curriculum of the colleges, where a century ago most colleges gave their students little if any choice (electives) in their entire four-year program. Today it is a rare college that requires more than freshman English, possibly some science and foreign language, and a major to be included among the 120 odd credits that make up the

Bachelor's degree. At the turn of the century such languages as French or German were new additions to the curriculum and considered barely respectable academically. Today they have faded, as Greek and Latin before them, to be replaced in student interest by majors in urban studies, ecology, or psychology.

Even more dramatic curricular changes have occurred outside the liberal arts framework in the development during this century of professional schools, especially schools focusing on agriculture, education, library science, home economics, and journalism. Formerly each of these skills was learned on an informal apprenticeship basis, but now they are degree-granting programs. All these courses make up the "system."

Who uses it? The simple answer to "Who uses the American educational system?" is "Practically all children and a great many adults as well." The rate of growth of educational attendance has zoomed in this century, especially for the post-elementary group. Estimates vary, but a reasonable one is that less than five percent of the college age children were in school in America in 1900. Today over 40 percent are. Secondary school enrollments practically doubled every decade from 1890 to 1920, when they began to level off. Although much of this increase was of course due to growth in the population, more of it could be attributed to the increasing tendency for children to remain in school beyond the eighth grade.

Currently, for the first time in the Nation's history, school attendance is not growing. Segments of the educational system have experienced periods of contraction or no growth in the past, notably the elementary schools in the Thirties and Forties, which were reflecting the low birth rate of the Thirties, and the colleges in the late 19th century, which were reflecting a general disenchantment with higher education and an economic depression. At present, however, neither the elementary nor the secondary school population is expected to increase but rather to shrink, a result of the drop in the birth rate, the absence of significant immigration, and the already established pattern of full participation in the elementary and secondary schools. College enrollment predictions - which are subject to much more fluctuation, since such institutions can enroll students of all ages and since considerably less than half the eligible population has ever attended them - call for only modest gains, and these gains probably will be chiefly in the public institutions.

Statistically children from middle class homes are over-represented in the college population in the United States and this is particularly true of male children from middle class homes. Thus whereas women currently constitute more than 50 percent of the Nation's population, they represent only a little more than 44 percent of the undergraduate enrollment. Bright girls from economically depressed circumstances form the largest category of persons who might be expected to proift from college but who do not do so. The male-female discrepancy is even greater at the doctorate level, where women currently receive only about 18 percent of the doctorates awarded annually. Until recently blacks did not attend college in anything like their proportion in the population, but in the last few years their undergraduate enrollment proportion has come closer to approximating their proportion of the population. They are still far behind at the doctorate level, however, receiving less than one percent of the doctorates awarded annually, although they constitute over 11 percent of the population.

If one assumes that intellectual capacity is distributed evenly throughout the population, then it is clear that the school performance is affected by factors other than sheer intellect. Such basic characteristics as race, class, and sex, as well as such less tangible influences as motivation and teacher expectation, remain important variables affecting academic success and intellectual growth. Over 30 years ago George S. Counts asked, "Dare the schools build a new social order?" He had hoped for an affirmative answer, but the reply then and now is negative.

Despite the disclaimer that the schools are not primarily avenues of social mobility in this country, a recent incident involving the U.S.S.R., a nation that has made a genuine effort to eliminate class distinctions in its society, is illustrative. In 1973 a group of six

American professors and one journalist met in the Soviet Union with a counterpart group there to discuss domestic problems of mutual concern. At the opening session each participant - they ranged in age from early 30s to mid 50s - was asked to introduce himself or herself and to say a bit about family background. The Americans,all of whom had been educated at Harvard, Yale, or Columbia, represented a more diverse group in terms of family background than the Soviets. Over half the Americans were the second generation of their family in this country, and less than half came from families who were professionals. The Soviets, on the other hand, almost unanimously came from families in which the parents had been professionals and had attended college. This was all the more unusual since the proportion of Russians attending college of their parents' generation was very small indeed. Although our educational system clearly has serious limitations as a vehicle for social mobility it is noteworthy that the most prestigious universities in this country have not limited their enrollments, particularly at the graduate level, to children of the upper middle class.

Who runs it? Two of the most distinctive features of the American educational system are related to its organization. One is the extraordinary degree of lay control that still exists in school systems in this country, and the other is the system's highly decentralized structure. Lay control through school boards and boards of trustees made up typically of community leaders dates from the time when the number of educated persons in a community was very small, and the one or two schoolmasters (or more rarely, schoolmistresses) were not regarded as among the most enligtened citizens. Until the 20th century the school teacher commonly was a young, single person (no one could support a family on a teacher's wage) either en route to a career or marriage, or when the teacher was older, a misfit for either. Such persons were not likely to inspire the confidence of the statesmen of the community, who therefore undertook responsibility for the schools themselves.

A country in central Indiana exemplifies the school board model: When the first public school system was organized in the community of Franklin in 1866, it was supplanting miscellaneous educational endeavors that had been carried on by the local Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, each of which had operated its own school at one time or another. The town fathers accommodated to the history of rivalry among the faiths by naming the pastors of the three churches as the first Franklin school board. Two years later they were succeeded by the county judge, the local doctor, and the leading Franklin merchant, a trio that looked after the schools for many years, hiring and firing superintendents of schools at two and three year intervals.

Tension between the lay boards of control and the professional educators has tended to increase during the 20th century with the growth of the professional educator group. In many large systems the professional educators making up the established, continuing bureaucracy of the school system have become the effective determinants of educational policy. Although they are nominally responsible to the superintendent of schools, this official occupies such an exposed and vulnerable position in the community that his (one can say "his" advisedly, since over 99 percent of school superintendents in this country are male) incumbency is likely to be no more than three or four years. The professional educators making up the staff are protected by tenure, and their position is therefore much more secure and their influence more sustained. Functionally that is where the power lies in a school system. Lay school boards and superintendents can enunciate all the reforms they want, but unless the teachers change their ways, nothing will happen. It is often difficult to change an experienced teacher's view about pedagogical method or children's abilities.

One of the most persistent tensions in school systems has been that between parents of school children and the policymakers of the schools, whoever they have been. Generally parents have played a rather small role in setting priorities for the schools, and when the schools did not seem to be educating their children satisfactorily, they have complained. Such parental dissatisfaction was evident during the 1950s in the denunciation of progressive education by the Council for Basic Education, a group that included many parents who were not educators. More recently the school decentralization controversy in New York City has been marked by vivid complaints from some parents that the centrally controlled schools were not responsive to the needs of their children.

Who pays for it? The question of control of the American educational system is inevitably closely linked with the question of finance. There is very little nationalized central authority over education in the United States, and proportionately there is also relatively little Federal expenditure for elementary and secondary education. Funding for higher education, particularly for research carried on in colleges and universities, is much more likely to come from Federal sources than is support for the schools, though the latter has grown. Forty years ago nearly 83 percent of the funds allocated to public schools came from local governments, with 17 percent coming from State government and 0.3 percent from the Federal Government. Currently approximately 52 percent comes from local sources, 40 percent from the State and about eight percent from the Federal Government. Over 80 percent of the local funds come from property taxes. As many critics have pointed out, given this structure of support, wealthy communities with high property values are able to provide better financed schools than are poor communities. Such differences in educational opportunity have been held in recent court suits to violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, most notably in 1971 in the California case of Serrano v. Priest.

As the Serrano case illustrates, one of the striking features of the financing of the American educational system is the different in support to be found in differing regions, a variation that has characterized the financing of public education throughout the Nation's history. Robert D. Reischauer and Robert W. Hartman have pointed out in Reforming School Finance, for example, that school districts in New York spend on the average more than twice as much as the average district in nine other States. Throughout the country the districts with the highest levels of expenditure are usually those found in the most prosperous suburban areas, a shift from the pre-World War I era when the city districts were typically the leaders in educational expenditures. Rural areas - particualrly those in the South - have always spent the least on public education. The estimated range there for the 1972-73 school year was from $590 in Alabama, $651 in Arkansas, and $689 in Mississippi, in contrast to the figures for the three highest States: $1,584 for New York, $1,473 for Alaska, and $1,307 for Vermont.

Since the end of the 19th century, there has been considerable willingness by taxpayers to finance the schools, at least in part because of widespread faith of many Americans in the ability of the schools to provide children with helpful and necessary skills. In the last half-dozen years, however, voters have been rejecting school bond issues and budgets with alacrity. Explanations differ on the reasons for these rejections, but two issues are clearly significant. One is a demand for a more diverse financial base for public education than the present heavy reliance on local property taxes. The second and more subtle hypothesis involves citizens' loss of faith in the capacity of the schools to accomplish the many tasks assigned to them, a reaction compounded not only of a tradition of overexpectation but of certain noteworthy recent developments.

One of these arises from the fact that for the first time in American history we have reached a point where children no longer regularly receive more formal education than their parents did and where opportunities for children to do better than their parents economically do not abound. Many college-educated parents today are aghast at the lack of concern displayed by their teenage or young adult children for college or for entering the economic mainstream. Others who were unable to attend college themselves but who have worked hard so that their children could do so are similarly disturbed. Both groups may attribute their offsprings' disinterest in these opportunities to what they see as permissiveness in the schools. Such parents cannot vote against the changed culture that has in fact produced their children's attitudes, but they can vote against school budgets.

Dissatisfaction with the schools is endemic. Ever since there have been schools there has been criticism of them. It comes from parents who blame the schools for the inadequacies they find in their own children. It comes from employers who find their employees ill prepared (somehow young people were always better prepared a generation ago when the employer was young). It comes from teacher who find their students uncooperative (again, a generation ago when the teachers were young the students were better). And it comes from the students, who find the schools dull (as students always have.)

With the American educational system - as with most systems - the halcyon days always seem to be in the past. Its contemporary triumphs are often obscure, particularly to persons currently struggling with it. Since education has become so widespread in America today - and that, of course, is one of its principal accomplishments - higher proportions of Americans are directly concerned with how it fares. Many of them believe the past to be preferable to the present; what survives from the past tends to be the successes of the past, not the failures. What troubles us in the present are ourdifficulties, not our achievements. It is to our credit that we are dissatified with the present, for then our future may be even better.

The Female Equation

by

Kathryn G. Heath*

Sixteen years before A Vindication of the Rights of Woman by Mary Wollstonecraft was published in England, a Colonial woman on the other side of the Atlantic wrote a prophetic letter to a delegate to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. The date was March 31, 1776 - midway between the New Year's Day publication of Thomas Paine's Common Sense and the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

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The author of the letter was Abigail Adams, wife of one future President and mother of another, who had learned to read and write without benefit of the formal schooling usually reserved for her peers of the opposite sex. Its recipient was her husband, whom she admonished:

> "...in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors...If particular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice or Representation..."

A century later, however, and for almost a century after that, educational opportunities as well as laws remained considerably less than "generous and favorable" as far as "the Ladies" were concerned. Even so, there were some indications along the way that men might be forced one day to face the female equation.

An early sign arose in 1819 when Emma Willard issued An Address to the Public; Particularly to the Members of the Legislature of New York Proposing a Plan for Improving Female Education. A Magna Charta for the higher schooling of women, the plan called for public endowment of an institution that would offer systematized instruction having educational substance. The legislature proved apathetic but the citizens of the town of Troy came to her aid, and the Troy Female Seminary she founded in 1821 led to others. For example, Catharine Beecher, an early advocate of domestic science, opened a school in Hartford in 1822 and later the Western Female Institute in Cincinnati. An activist in what she termed "securing professional advantages of education for my sex equal to those bestowed on men," she sought to arouse the public to endow still other institutions for the liberal education of women.

In 1828, a different approach to the encouragement of female education began to unfold. Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, a writer who had been tutored by her Dartmouth brother, began to publish the new Ladies Magazine. Two years later Louis A. Godey started The Lady's Book, and in 1837 - a landmark year as it developed - bought out his competition and ensconced Mrs. Hale as literary editor. Her work quickly gained a national reputation for Godey. One of her neverending purposes and certainly her favorite reform effort was the education of females to become more than hearthside hostesses. Step by step through the years she campaigned for high schools for girls, promoted the ideas of normal schools and colleges for women, even outrageously urged medical education for women at a time when such training was regarded as plainly inappropriate for "delicate souls." The conclusion of her editorial career of nearly a half of century marked the beginning of the upsurge in higher education opportunities for women throughout the land.

Far-reaching events other than the influence of The Lady's Book made 1837 a historic year for women. That was the year for realization of the dream and crystallization of the career of Mary Lyon, who wanted young women to have the chance to attend a seminary of superior academic quality at an inferior price. Against almost interminable discouragements, she raised funds through private philanthropy for a distinguished institution that offered its first instruction in 1837 and, in time, became Mount Holyoke College. That year also saw the inauguration of co-education at the college level, and three of the first four women for the for-year course received their B.A. degrees in 1841 from Oberlin Collegiate Institute.

Their matriculation proved, however, to be something less than a recognition of the principle of equality of educational opportunity for the two sexes, for they were barred from the study of Greek or Latin on the ground that the "rigors of these languages" were too great for the "female mind." Moreover, a gross disparity in timing was involved. The decision to establish the institution soon known as Harvard College was made in 1636, and the first class of "English and Indian youth" - meaning males - was admitted two years later. By contrast, 199 years were to pass before the first door was opened to baccalaureate degrees for women. And for that matter, it took another half century before Harvard's coordinate sister, Radcliffe

College, offered instruction resulting in conferral (in 1894) of the first baccalaureate degree on a "Cliffie."

In any case, the early decades of the 19th century did at least see the first steps toward introducing women to organized secondary and postsecondary education, tentative though that introduction may have been. In addition, an alternative to privately financed education for women also had begun to emerge. A State law enacted in 1827 required towns of a certain size in Massachusetts to employ a master to offer "instruction of utility" to young lads, and towns of a larger size to broaden that instruction to include such subjects as Greek and Latin. To get their money's worth, these towns sometimes allowed girls to fill empty places in the classes. A more subtle but in the long run more significant development also occurred in Massachusetts in the form of laws enacted between 1827 and 1834 that required tax support of public schools and declared them free to pupils.

Ultimately this concept of universal tax supported schooling was to give a dramatic new dimensions to the principle of equality set forth in the Declaration of Independence, but that time was not at hand in 1840. Witness the Sixth Decennial Census conducted that year. At the instigation of Henry Barnard of Connecticut (later to be the first U.S. Commissioner of Education), statistics about schooling were included for the first time. Women, however, like blacks and Indians, were not considered in the enumeration of citizens over the age of 20 who could neither read nor write.

Similarly, women abolitionists were excluded from delegate participation in a World Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in 1841, even when they represented anti-slavery groups composed entirely of females. For two of the women thus excluded, that action was the last straw. Said Elizabeth Cady Stanton to her friend Lucretia Mott, "When we return home, we must hold a convention and form a society to advance the rights of women." The result was the first women's rights conference the Nation had ever seen, convened in 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York.

And so it was that three quarters of a century after Abigail Adams made her prediction, the rebellion surfaced. The history of mankind, the delegates declared in their overriding "sentiment," is "a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her." Buttressing this "sentiment" were 15 "facts" which they submitted "to a candid world." The one on education declared: "He had denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed to her." This statement was almost but not quite true. College doors already had opened to women, but by so small a crack that the 300 men and women at the Seneca Falls Conference evidently had not yet noticed it.

In any case the Abigail Adams rebellion had been launched, though numerous other developments proved to be necessary before it achieved substance or even significant recognition.

Once such development occurred in 1862 while the Nation's Civil War was raging. President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act as the first of a series of Federal laws providing grants of land and other support for establishment and maintenance of what became known as the "Land Grant" institutions of higher learning. None of these laws contained provisions specifically discriminating against females. Nevertheless, initial practice in the States often barred women from admission, and even after that situation began to be eased they were either excluded or else denied anything approaching equal access to programs in certain fields - forestry, law, and medicine, for example - on grounds that there were not "women's fields" or that women would not put into productive use the expensive training involved.

Still, the Land-Grant institutions did open up wider opportunities for women - not only in these institutions but in an array of private institutions of higher learning, including many women's colleges established primarily in the East. As Mary Woolley put it during her Mount Holyoke College presidency, the era of expansion from about 1875 until the first World War was marked "by an advance in the education of women such as the world has never seen."

Moreover, with the incentive thus established to prepare more students for higher education, schools below collegiate level began to be created at an accelerated rate, and females were the incidental beneficiaries.

Meanwhile, the Civil War brought a fresh examination of Congressional power under the Constitution to "provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States." There ensued a new exploration of the scope of power at Federal level and of those areas - education was one - involving concerns and issues that ranscend State lines. One consequence was a memorial to the Congress resulting in legislation enacted March 2, 1867, and establishing what was to become the U.S. Office of Education. It was created, according to language in the law, to "aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country."

Henry Barnard, the first Commissioner of Education, immediately developed a Plan of Publication calling for a series of studies of what he saw as some of the major educational issues confronting the Nation. One was entitled "Female Education, with an account of different seminaries for females in this country and in Europe." The subtitle was a telling clue to women's contemporary educational and employment status. Seminaries were at a lower level than colleges, and those seminaries open to women did not offer training in such "men's fields" as the ministry, law, medicine, agriculture, and the mechanical arts.

Shortly thereafter (in June of 1867) the Commissioner issued a Circular Respecting Female Education, seeking current information from leaders in education at home and abroad. Though the leaders were men, Commissioner Barnard's initiative was of no small moment to the women's rights movement. This particular request inaugurated the Federal practice of routinely collecting, analyzing, and disseminating data on the educational status of girls and women. It also established the foothold for Federal action in the evolution that was to make the national Government a partner, albeit an often reluctant one in the rebellion Abigail Adams had foreseen and the Seneca Falls Conference had launched.

One such development occurred in 1909 with the convening of the first in a series of White House Conferences on Children and Youth. Out of that initial meeting came, in 1912, the establishment of the Children's Bureau, whose work in getting States to outlaw child labor served to supplement an Office of Education drive to encourage compulsory school attendance throughout the land, with girls again being incidental beneficiaries in both cases. Seven years later the Secretary of War, impressed by the contributions of local women's groups in meeting the Nation's needs in 1917-18, authorized some special funds to stimulate attendance at a conference held in St. Louis in 1919 which resulted in the founding of The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. Indignant over the prevalent attitude that the education of girls was less important than that of boys, the Federation mounted as one of its early programs a nationwide campaign, carried out through State and local clubs with the cooperation of leaders in education, to encourage girls to stay in school beyond the eighth grade.

The following year, 1920, brought some landmark advances in the drive for women's rights, again with action at the Federal level. June 5 marked the establishment of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, with responsibility for formulating standards and policies to promote the welfare of wage-earning women. Its early studies made official what women already knew: Regardless of how much education they had, they occupied the low rungs on the employment ladder. Then on August 26 came the addition to the Constitution of the 19th Amendment, enfranchising women nationwide - 72 years after such action had been called for at the Seneca Falls Conference and 50 years after the antislavery 15th Amendment recognized the right to vote for "citizens of the United States" (a term that did not extend to females, as Susan B. Anthonly demonstrated when she was arrested and convicted for trying to enter a polling booth in 1872).

Momentous though the 19th Amendment was, the celebration of that breakthrough was considerably dimmed by the fact that women as individuals still were excluded by the Supreme Court from coverage by the 14th Amendment, adopted in 1868 and prohibiting "persons" (interpreted as males) from being denied "due process of law" and "equal protection of the laws." A case in point was that of Myra Bradwell in 1872. Though she had duly been educated in law, an Illinois statute was used to deny her the right to practice. The United States Supreme Court upheld the State law and refused to apply the 14th Amendment in her case, though it did so in employment suits involving males, including alien men. It was, in fact, not until 1971, in Reed v. Reed, that the Court began to change its stance.

Winning the right to vote was nevertheless a major victory for women, but it was one of the last they were to claim at the national level until World War II. They continued, of course, to make progress on their own. Despite accumulating evidence that females were treated as second-class citizens by the schools and colleges, when war clouds broke over the horizon in 1939 the United States could claim the lion's share of the best-educated women in the world. In the military and in civilian capacities ranging from Rosie the Riveter to entrepreneur, they won the Nation's respect. But not to the extent, as individual leaders and various women's groups insistently pointed out, that they were treated on an equitable basis with men. In education, for example, male faculty members received far higher salaries than their female counterparts, men overwhelmingly dominated the ranks of school administrators, and countless women were snubbed by professional schools.

Winds of change finally began to blow with the establishment in 1961 of the President's Commission on the Status of Women and a follow-up drive by The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs to organize similar commissions at the State level, a move that ultimately resulted in formation of the Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women. It was not until March of 1963, however, that the modern women's liberation movement was launched by the publication of The Feminine Mystique, a book that established Betty Friedan as the Thomas Paine of the rebellion Abigail Adams had called for nearly two centuries earlier.

This call to action was followed in October by American Women, the report of the President's Commission and the first effort to produce a composite picture of the status of women for purposes of national policy-making. The report called, for example, for a drastic revision of the structure of education so as to provide for "practicable and accessible opportunities, developed with regard for the needs of women, to complete elementary and secondary school and to continue education beyond high school..." Less than a month later President Kennedy established an Interdepartmental Committee and a Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and not by coincidence Congress shortly thereafter authorized Federal assistance for adult basic education in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and for continuing education in the Higher Education Act of 1965.

Such advances were accompanied, however, by a noteworthy setback involving the Civil Rights Act of 1964. As women leaders were quick to point out, though this controversial legislation was strong in prohibiting discrimination in public education on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin, it was silent on sex discrimination. Thus, they said, educational institutions could and did continue to discriminate against girls and women in admissions, the right to take particular courses, and opportunities for scholarships and fellowships. Moreover, women performing educational duties in educational institutions were exempted from coverage under the equal employment opportunity provisions of the law, thus affirming such existing practices as lower pay for women than for men, fewer opportunities for promotion, and poorer fringe benefits. These injuries were in turn compounded, the women felt, when the related Executive Order 11246 - issued the next year - ignored sex discrimination under thousands of Federal contracts with schools and colleges and under federally assisted construction contracts.

Number 11246 was destined to become one of the more noted of the Executive Orders that are issued from time to time, for it attracted the particular attention of the various new activist groups that were coming into being. One of these was the National Organization for Women, more familiarly known as NOW. Founded in October of 1966, NOW was the first of what soon became an array of vigorous organizations established to fight for women's rights, and its members promptly selected Executive Order 11246 as a primary target. Lobbying their case with the Department of Justice, the Civil Service Commission, the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and the White House itself, they were able just 12 months later to point with considerable satisfaction to Executive Order 11375, which amended its predecessor by adding a prohibition of discrimination by sex.

That was no small victory, for the revised Order was the first (and for a time the only) Federal mandate bearing on the situation. Although some observers initially may have seen this administrative fiat as little more than a palliative to some irate females, its potential was to be made clear by another of the new activist groups - the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL). Organized in November of 1968, WEAL jolted academic 14 months later by starting to file specific and class action charges against hundreds of institutions of higher learning in virtually every section of the Nation, accusing them of discrimination by sex and relying on the amended Order. In the following year, and again relying on the revised Order as its authority, came another sweeping attack, this time by the newly established Professional Women's Caucus, organized to cut across the professions and thus assure a spectrum of expertise in activities aimed at opening up educational and professional opportunities for girls and women. Charges by the Caucus were directed at all law schools having Federal contracts. In total, more than 2,500 accredited institutions of higher learning found themselves under class action charges.

Thus did the drive for women's rights gain momentum, leading to a number of additional advances at the Federal level. In mid-1970 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Office of Civil Rights notified its regional directors that "investigations of sex discriminations must be a part of all compliance review, and . . . all affirmative action plans in the future must address themselves to overcoming matters of sex discrimination."

Meanwhile, encouraged by Republican Congresswomen, President Nixon in 1969 had appointed a Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities. Out of the recommendations contained in its subsequent report - A Matter of Simple

Justice - came such developments as the appointment of the first woman counselor to the President and the establishment of an Office of Women's Programs in the White House; extension of the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights to include sex discrimination; additions to equal pay provisions of the Fair Labor Standard Act of 1938 to cover executive, administrative, and professional employees, including teachers; and establishment of a Women's Program Staff in the Office of Education. Also sparked by the report were establishment of the Secretary's Advisory Committee on Women's Rights and Responsibilities and appointment of a task force in the Office of Education to examine and advise on the impact on women of programs administered by the Department as a whole and the Office of Education in particular.

By application of such administrative pressure, the women's rights movement was achieving change, but the pace was frustratingly glacial. It was time, the women's groups and their supporters determined, to renew their efforts along that most characteristically American route to redress of grievances - through legislation. Thus, as the Nation entered its bicentennial decade, a concentrated drive was launched to achieve through new legislation the equity that the inertia of custom and tradition denied.

Among the landmark Federal legislation enacted thereafter was an amendment to the Public Health Service Act adopted in November of 1971 which forced some 1,400 schools and training centers in medical and other health fields to open their doors as wide to women as to men - as a condition for futher Federal financial assistance. Beyond its move visible impact, this legislative breakthrough brought home what was quickly recognized as a guiding principle. As Carnegie Corporation President Alan Pifer put it, "Without the threat of coercion it seems unlikely higher education would have budged an inch on this issue. Certainly it had every chance to do so and failed."

Then an organized lobbying blitzkrieg in the 92nd Congress by women's groups and their supporters proved successful - after 49 years of struggle - in winning endorsement by both houses of the Congress of a joint resolution proposing an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution. "Equality of rights under the law," it declares, "shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." Final action on the resolution calling for the amendment, which now is in the hands of the States for the necessary 38 ratifications, came on March 22, 1972.

Two days later the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 broadened the purview of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to include persons (a word that now at least includes women) employed by States and their political subdivisions and those employed in educational activities in private as well as public educational institutions.

Three months after that came the Education Amendments of 1972, a farreaching act that included a legal blockbuster on behalf of girls and women. With specified exceptions, it declared, "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Since the great majority of schools and colleges do in fact receive such assistance, and want to continue doing so, the recently proposed Federal regulations for carrying out this act charts a level of change not far from revolutionary.

From these major legislative advances - and from other legislative action that is filling in the gaps, from an array of court decisions and consent decrees, and from the vigorous campaign to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment - come the signs that the female equation will one day be brought into balance. That day may not be just around the corner. Nevertheless, as the Nation prepares to celebrate its 200th anniversary, it is reasonable to expect that the rebellion which Abigail Adams sought to foment in 1776 - like the one her husband then was engaged in - will be crowned with success.

An American Paradox

"Built like a scarecrow, a gangling, pinheaded, flat-topped oaf. But what would anyone expect? He was just a teacher." (That is Washington Irving's superstitious, simple, Ichabod Crane).

"A ridiculous figure, his bald head covered with an ill-fitting wig...a man who had aspired to be a doctor but who had been forced by poverty to be nothing more than a schoolmaster." (That is Mark Twain's description of Old Dobbins.)

"Their teacher was a gaunt, red-faced spinster, with fierce, glaring eyes." (That is Thomas Wolfe in Look Homeward, Angel.)

These fictional teachers are part of a peculiarly American paradox - a paradox compounded of a high regard for education on one hand and the generally low regard that has usually been accorded teachers on the other. Time and the kind of people entering the profession have enormously elevated the status of teachers, of course, but historically they have drawn mixed reviews, as witness Willard S. Elsbree on the Colonial schoolmaster:

> "He was a God-fearing clergyman, he was an unmitigated rouge; he was amply paid, he was accorded a bare pittance; he made teaching a life career, he used it merely as a steppingstone; he was a classical scholar, he was all but illiterate; he was licensed by bishop or Colonial governor, he was certified only by his own pretentions; he was a cultured gentleman, he was a crude-mannered yokel; he ranked with the cream of society, he was regarded as menial. In short, he was neither a type nor a personality, but a statistical distribution represented by a skewed curve."

Somewhere on that curve appeared Joannes Van Eckelen, who signed a contract in 1682 to "keep school" in the town of Flatbush, Long Island. Five hours a day, six days a week, from September to June, Joannes taught a class of about 16 children (some schoolmasters handled more than 100). He received the tuition fees plus a salary - with the use of a dwelling, barn, pasture, and meadow thrown in.

With no lesson plans to draw up, few papers to grade, no curriculum materials to select, no conferences to attend, Joannes would have run out of things to do, even after making quills, the most time consuming adjunct to teaching. So it was understood he would take a second job - as minister's assistant, though he had lived elsewhere he might have been juryman, town crier, registrar of probate, or tradesman. (John Thelwell of Wilmington, Delaware, held so many extra jobs that someone recalled: "It would be easier to say what he did not do than to recount his numerous duties.")

As minister's assistant, Joannes was to "keep the church clean...serve as messenger for the consistory...give the funeral invitations, dig the graves, and toll the bell . . ." He was of course paid extra for this moonlighting.

Considerably further up the social scale were the schoolmasters of New Englands's Latin grammar schools. Usually coming from wealthy or at least well-connected families, these pedagogues were charged with preparing the sons of other well-to-do parents for college, though many regarded this task as a barely bearable stop-gap until they could arrange more lucrative and prestigious careers.

Lowest on the teaching ladder in Colonial times was the "dame" - a housewife, often the spouse of the local minister, seeking extra income. She listened to the younger children recite their letters and the older ones read and spell from their primers while she sewed or knitted. It was the dame who polished manners, instructed the youngsters in how to bow and curtsy properly, and impressed on them the importance of avoiding such vulgarities as "stepping on vermin in the sight of others." The first dame to set up shop in Northfield, Massachusetts, reported that she cared for 20 youngsters during the summer months and found time to "make shirts for the Indians at eight pence each."

Procedures for hiring teachers were fairly uniform throughout New England. A selectman or town father recruited candidates who then stood for approval by the minister and before a town meeting. Outlying areas settled for anyone answering an ad or located by hearsay. As for Joannes Van Ecklen, the people in Flatbush were doubtless more concerned with whether he held a license from the British governor of New York which guaranteed his religious conformity than with his academic achievements.

The schoolmaster's wages were usually low, since he was in most instances deemed an unproductive worker, a tolerated necessity, a cheap commodity. He represented the budget item that could most readily be squeezed for greater community economy. Whether such treatment was the cause or the effect, townspeople found that hiring a schoolmaster could be risky. One was accused of paying "more attention to the tavern than to the school"; another was fired for "obtaining articles from stores in the name of the rector and taking them to pawnshops." Contracts were usually written for a year and if the schoolmaster failed - whether for reasons of drinking, using profanity, piling up debts, behaving "unseemly" toward women, or simply for being unpopular with the community - he'd move on or make a change in his profession.

In a society where picking apples on the sabbath brought a fine, the schoolmaster's comportment was narrowly prescribed. Joannes Van Ecklen came a cropper when he and some other locals took issue with a group of wealthy landowners. He was promptly fired and replaced. He then added to his offense by setting up a competing school. This enterprise was halted by a cease and desist order, and Van Ecklen dropped out of sight for a while, though he seems later to have returned to teaching in Flatbush, presumably made more tractable by his experience.

Though political activity such as his was not to be tolerated, a much more common cause for dismissal in Colonial days and for a long time thereafter had to do with maintaining discipline. The schoolmaster with insufficient skill in keeping prankprone boys in line could never feel secure. If he ousted troublemakers wholesale his school gained a reputation for being too hard. If he permitted insubordination he was a "poor manager." In any case the whipping post, the ferule, and later the hickory stick became indispensable allies of some teachers. A North Carolina schoolmaster developed a set of rules starring the stick - three lashes for calling each other names, for example, two for blotting a copy book, three for failing to bow to visitors.

Some schoolmasters, especially those with advanced degrees, were accorded the title of Mister and assigned prominent pews in the church - important social indicators in Colonial times. While such teachers moved in aristocratic society, others arrived as indentured slaves bringing a lesser price than convicts.

Came the Revolution - and if the schoolmaster wasn't called to arms, he found himself in a nonessential career. In those schools that continued to operate, the teacher had trouble finding classroom materials. Hostilities had cut off what had in any case been a sparse supply of books, imported from England. Moreover, the content of the texts that remained had become instantly unsuitable, since they were of course British in character. Revised versions were ultimately issued, one of the most popular being, A New England Primer (which taught "millions to read and not one to sin"), but for some time spellers still contained honorary English titles and math books ignored decimal currency.

In the years between the Revolution and the Civil War, the idea of free, tax supported schools took root and teachers seemed headed for anew lease on life. Education leaders rose to influence, literature on the importance of education abounded, statutes appeared in State constitutions indicating a recognition of the obligation to provide education for all. What most impressed a New England schoolteacher during the early part of the 19th century, however, was his school's lack of an outhouse and the community's failure to provide a manageable building or even maintain a proper supply of firewood. He and his pupils nearly froze in the mornings and almost suffocated by the smoke later in the day. He figured out that his school had seen 37 teachers in [illegible] years.

Change nevertheless was in the wind, though not all were to welcome its arrival. There was the matter, for example, of teacher preparation. The notion that teachers, like bookkeepers, required special training was regarded by many oldtimers as an affront to their dignity and an unwarranted reflection upon their competence. But the country was growing in land and people, demand was increasing for a more sophisticated work force, and the need for teachers able to help build such a work force became acute. The result of these pressures was the establishment of numerous institutions specifically focused on teacher training - normal schools, as they were called. About a dozen came into being between 1834 and the Civil War, and for the remainder of the century they were established at a rate of two or three a year. Normal schools offered one-year (and later, longer) courses that taxed neither the pocketbook nor the mind. Men were admitted, but it was young ladies who flocked to them.

The first normal school students came straight from elementary school; if they retained a smattering of what they had learned there they were acceptable. After a few years the standards were raised to require two years of high school. Not until after 1900 was high school graduation a prerequisite. Highbrow education was not the goal of these young ladies. Some may have had a desire to serve mankind through teaching, but many were seeking a profitable way to spend the time between school years and marriage.

With the institution of grade levels in the schools and the consequent separation of the younger from the older children, the argument no longer held that females made unsuitable teachers because they could not handle obstreperous older boys. It had to be conceded that they could at least cope with the younger children, the Boston Board of Education declaring, for example, that women were "infinitely more fit than males to be the guides and exemplars of young children"; that they possessed milder manners, purer morals, which makes "the society of children delightful, and turns duty into pleasure."

Not everyone jumped on the distaff bandwagon. A Rhode Island superintendent insisted that no matter how well qualified, a female teacher could not be employed "for the same reason she cannot so well manage a vicious horse or other animal, as a man may do."

But the voices of dissension soon became muted, and before long, women were appearing in classrooms everywhere. In 1862, New Jersey reported: "It is somewhat remarkable that the number of female teachers has been gradually increasing from year to year, until it now exceeds the number of male teachers. . ." Other States were soon to report similar experiences. The Civil War would ring the final knell to teaching as a predominantly male profession.

The average woman teacher, because of her youth, because she was not career minded, because she was ignorant of national affairs, did not involve herself with the State and local teachers' associations that were forming. She was seen as having no interest in educational reform and in any case insufficient knowledge and experience to contribute to it. Those who tried found themselves subjected to sometimes humiliating discriminatory practices. Women were, to be sure, welcomed by the new National Teachers Association, founded in 1857, which later became the National Education Association (NEA). But in those days if a female wanted to present a paper, regulations required that it be read for her by a male member.

Meanwhile as education leaders debated whether teaching could be reduced to a science and if physical culture and singing belong in the "regular branches," the great body of teachers was more concerned with the practical problems involved in "boarding out" or the personal penalties their careers exacted of them.

The male teacher had long "boarded around" on the theory that close association with local families would give him a better understanding of the students and the community. Not that this was the teacher's idea. Living as a guest afforded little privacy, no guarantee of nourishing food or warm quarters, limited and control over leisure time, and the frequent discomfort of long trudges to and from school. It was simply a cheap way to support the schools. A Pennsylvania county superintendent argued: "By this mode the burden of boarding the teacher is never felt; whereas if the teacher were boarded in one place, and money paid therefore, the cash cost of supporting our schools would be nearly double."

Historian Mason Stone tells of a Vermont schoolmaster who suffered a diet of tough gander. The bird was served at a Monday dinner and thereafter for each meal, including breakfast, for the rest of the week. The schoolmaster confided in his diary: "Dinner - cold gander again; didn't keep school this afternoon; weighed and found I had lost six pounds the last week; grew alarmed; had a talk with Mr. B. and concluded I had boarded out his share."

Because women were more trouble to board than men and fewer homes offered them hospitality, boarding around was gradually "phase out" during the second half of the 1800s. Nevertheless, the teacher continued to have little personal freedom and to be the ojbect of close scrutiny - except, curiously enough, in the area of professional skills. Few laymen, or educators for that matter, were competent to judge teaching ability and fewer still bothered to try. The situation changed somewhat with the advent of county superintendents, but even then teachers could expect an inspection visit only about once a year. Moreover, county superintendents were elected to their positions, and some were merely inept political hacks who looked at outside paint with more diligence than they reviewed performance in the classroom. Many others, however, conscientiously did their best to cover their territories with horse and buggy and do whatever they could to make schooling more effective. The situation sometimes discouraged even the most ebullient of them. A Pennsylvania superintendent, for instance, found that "not a scholar in the school could tell me what country he lived in." Not that the situation was universally this dismal. There was at least one good teacher to match each poor one, and in many instances the teacher was held in the highest regard.

As many of the traveling superintendents observed, however, the situation was disturbingly spotty, and the feeling grew that if the schools were to have competent teachers, each community could no longer be left to set its own standards. With normal schools improving and communication facilities expanding, educators began to devise schemes to standardize - at least within States - requirements for securing a teaching certificate. After the Civil War, authority to issue certificates began to move from local and county officials to the States. A teacher applying for a license was required to take a written examination prepared by State authorities. As long as local and county superintendents were responsible for grading the papers, however, they still controlled certification for all practical purposes.

Teachers needed only a tenth-grade education to be eligible for the tests - even into the 20th century. (Indiana in 1907 became the first State to require a high school diploma as a condition for all teaching certificates.) If they passed the written exam, they had a blanket certificate good for any subject at any grade level. Gradually, the idea of spcial certificates for special teaching assignments caught on, as did the notion that graduation from high school and, later, college would be a sounder basis for evalution than a single test.

The typical teacher of 1911, according to the first study made of the characteristics of schoolteachers, was 24 years old, female, had entered teaching at 19, and had four years of training beyond the elementary school. Her parents were native born, her father was most likely a farmer or tradesman, and she had to earn her own way.

Fifteen years later, a similar survey showed little change. The teacher of the mid-Twenties came from a rural area or small town. She had never traveled more than a couple of hundred miles from her home, and had had little exposure to art or music. Light literature - popular magazines such as the Saturday Evening Post and Ladies' Home Journal - was her preference, and she scanned the newspaper daily. Attempts to elevate teacher preparation standards had meanwhile been launched, but then came the dislocations of World War I. In 1918, according to records of The National Education Association, half of the 600,000 teachers then in the classroom lacked special training and about one-sixth were without even a tenth grade education. As late as 1926, 15 States still had no definite scholarship requirements for a certificate.

Teachers continued to be boudy by petty restrictions that had little to do with their teacher. Before and immediately after the war, the management of their private lives extended even to being told what charities they were obliged to contribute. Tenure was insecure, without provision for sickness or old age. And to take a stand on a public issue was to commit professional suicide. Personal freedoms were similarly limited. Well into the 20th century, the common habit of tobacco chewing was adequate cause for denial of certificates to male teachers. A teacher who was for some reason invited to a party was not supposed to dance, and failure to attend church services regularly was taken as sure proof of moral decay. As late as the 1930s, one teacher complained: "I cannot be funny or act like a human being. I must possess all the dignity and peculiarities of an old maid."

Employment of teachers in their home towns was prohibited in Alabama, and a North Carolina county outlawed "quarreling among teachers." Between 1920 and 1930, school authorities in several communities refused to appoint teachers who bobbed their hair, painted their lips, or rouged their cheeks. Such restrictions often were embodied in State codes or written into contracts. A Virginia county school system rule still on the books in 1935 read, "Any conduct such as staying out late at night, etc., which may cause criticism of the teacher will not be tolerated by the school board."

As individuals, teachers were often praised, venerated, and even loved by the communities they served. As a class, they were stereotyped - congenital old maids of both sexes, too incompetent to compete in the world of work, too frustrated to take their place in normal society, somewhat odd in appearance and dress, lacking in social graces. "You can tell a teacher as far as you can see one," went one of the cliches. Or, "He who can, does; he who can't, teaches."

As with Americans generally, the arrival of the 20th century was accompanied by considerable gear-shifting with regard to teachers - in their status, in the way in which they were viewed, and in the way they viewed themselves. Both cause and effect were involved in a surge of activity - chiefly conducted through local and State professional organizations at first, then rising to the national level -

aimed at achieving better salaries, tenure, higher certification standards, a large role in setting school policies, and greater personal freedom. In the beginning these moves brought few gains, but as a consequence of them the pattern was set. Teachers were determined to win a place in the sun.

Their efforts have not been universally welcomed or endorsed, particularly when their new born militancy was translated into boycotts and strikes. Even then, however, the criticism has primarily been directed toward the organizations involved rather than teachers as such. Moreover, to the extent that their demands have been aimed at providing more competent instruction and more effective learning, teachers struck a responsive chord. Meanwhile teachers were becoming not simply more militant but better educated, more competent, more involved. And as it turned out, more highly respected.

Consider, for example, some results from a series of Gallup polls conducted for Phi Delta Kappa, the education fraternity. When asked if they would like their children to become teachers, three out of four parents said yes, they would, and when the sample was narrowed down to parents with children still in school, the ration climbed to four out of five.

As for the teachers themselves, though they have changed considerably over the years, there is this constant: Like the Colonial schoolmaster, he or she is an individual, "neither a type nor a personality, but a statistical distribution represented by a shewed curve." Only today the curve is even less symmetrical. It includes blacks in cities and suburbs, people with Spanish surnames, Native Americans on and off reservations. As it includes people trained in traditional institutions who earned their credentials by taking traditional course, so does it encompass people who have been certificated because they acquired and demonstrated specific competencies. It includes people who have climbed a career ladder through multiple levels. It includes people who teach in a conventional manner in self-contained classrooms as well as individuals who work in "open" or "free" schools where youngsters are responsible for much of their own learning.

From a compilation of statistic about teachers by the National Education Association comes this odd assortment of facts: The median age of teachers is 35 years. A little over eight percent of all teachers are black. About 50 percent of all teachers come from blue-collar working class or farm backgrounds, but the percentage of teachers with fathers in one of the professions is increasing. There are more male teachers today than there were five or ten years ago, especially on the elementary school level. Seven teachers in ten are married. The percentage of men teachers with working wives has increased. Ninety-seven percent of all teachers hold at least a Bachelor's degree. The best prepared teachers tend to work in large school systems.

Finally, a statistic that serves as a kind of intangible monument to the teaching professionals who recognize the unending series of challenges they are called upon to meet and who have the will and the courage to meet them: Nine of every ten teachers plan to go on teaching.

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Benefiting the Child

Declared U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugh Black: "It is much too late to argue that legislation intended to facilitate the opportunity of children to get a secular education serves no public purpose."

The year was 1947, the case that of Everson v Board of Education, in which a taxpayer brought suit against a New Jersey school district challenging the constitutionality of a State law that permitted tax-supported transportation for children attending parochial schools similar to that afforded their public school counterparts. In delivering the Court's opinion, Justice Black specifically noted that "the State contributes no money" to the schools involved - the constitutional provisions of separation of church and State were not at issue. It was rather a question of whether the State could legally "help parents get their children, regardless of their religion, safely and expeditiously to and from accredited schools." In deciding in the affirmative, the Court established a significant guidepost for the drafting almost two decades later of crucial provisions of the most far-reaching Federal education legislation ever enacted.

Move forward now to the 1960s and the repercussions of the postwar "baby boom." In the fall of 1964 enrollments in public elementary and secondary schools reached 41.4 million and those in nonpublic schools climbed to more than six million. The combined total represented an increase of no less than 14.2 million students brought on many complications. The schools found themselves confronted by enormously increased costs: for additional staff, for administration, and to keep the plant operating - $18.9 billion in 1964-65 as contrasted with $8.9 billion a decade earlier. In addition there was the expense of constructing some 694,000 new classroom, on top of which projections indicated that 344,000 more would be needed within the next five years to accommodate additional students and to replace buildings that were becoming too decrepit to use. Of the $31.2 billion in capital outlay for public elementary and secondary education during the 1954-64 decade, $20.4 billion was attributate to increased enrollment.

The nonpublic schools - and particularly those operated by the Catholic church - were if anything in even worse straits. They too were subjected to greatly increased operating and administrative costs, but perhaps the greatest jump came in costs of instruction as more "lay" teachers replaced the unsalaried teachers traditionally supplied by thereligious orders. Within the church, questions were raised as to whether parish schools could survive without some form of Government assistance. In the absence of such aid, the leaders of several religious denominations argued, the public schools might find their already severe enrollment crunch lifted to calamitous proportions if they were required to take over the education of some six million youngsters attending church-supported nonpublic schools.

There was another equally crucial issue breeding ferment in the education world - the growing criticism that the schooling of too many youngsters, especially those from economically depressed backgrounds, was defective in quantity and quality. Some eight million adults were revealed to have completed less than five years in the classroom, and lack of proper training appeared to be the chief reason for the 20 percent unemployment of those between the ages of 18 and 20. A study of the 3.7 million students in the 15 largest school systems in the Nation showed that one-third were lagging so far behind that they needed special help. As officials of the nonpublic schools pointed out, public education had no monopoly on this problem. The greatest concentrations of parochial school attendance also came from the large cities; these students also needed special (and more expensive) help.

Such were some of the forces that led the Congress and the Administration to seek ways of strengthening elementary and secondary education and to consider the state of nonpublic schools as they did so. As early as 1961 Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, chairman of the Senate's Subcommittee on Education, had asked the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to prepare legal briefs discussing the various issues involved, including one on "The Impact of the First Amendment to the Constitution Upon Federal Aid to Education." Both the proponents and the opponents of such aid took comfort in an early statement in the HEW response which noted that "it is easier to determine what the First Amendment forbids than what it allows." The proponents interpreted this language as suggesting the possibility of bold new legislation; whereas the opponents saw it as reaffirming constitutional limitations.

A second major statement in the brief said this: "The First Amendment does not require Government to be hostile to religion, nor does it permit governmental discrimination against religious activities. The objective is neutrality, however difficult it may be to be neutral or to detemine what neutrality requires in relation to particular factual situations." Neither side was encouraged by these passages, since neither felt neutral about the matter.

And then came a statement that harks back to Everson v Board of Education and paved the way to an accommodation of the opposing sides. "Legislation which renders support to church schools," it read, "is unconstitutional in some circumstances. But laws designed to further the education and welfare of youth may not be unconstitutional if they afford only incidental benefits to church schools."

Though the issue of aid to nonpublic school children was just one of many concerns in the proposed Federal legislation to reinvigorate elementary and secondary education, none was more thoroughly debated. In time the discussion came to concentrate on the idea advanced in that portion of the brief which spoke of "laws designed to further the education and welfare of youth." Given the pressures of increasing enrollments, mounting school costs, the significant portion of the load carried by the private schools, and the necessity of improving the education of disadvantaged children wherever they might be, this is the concept that ultimately was embodied in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, most notably in Titles I and II but in other titles as well.

As with Everson, these provisions did not suggest opening the door of direct aid to church-related schools. Rather the act concentrated on providing - with day-to-day application of the law placed in the hands of the States and local public school agencies - aid particularly aimed at helping disadvantaged children but also seeking to provide greater educational opportunities to youngsters generally, irrespective of the kind of school system involved. The principle was the "child-benefit theory," by which the target was the child (and by implication the overall welfare of the Nation) rather than the school he or she attended.

Thus, under the direction of the public schools, compensatory education was made available to disadvantaged children in nonpublic schools under Title I, and school library resources, testbooks, and other instructional materials by means of a lending provision of Title II, along with additional benefits made elsewhere in the act.

Over the years since the Elementary and Secondary Education Act began operations in 1966 hundreds of thousands of nonpublic school youngsters have benefited from federally supported programs and services previously not offered to them. Even so, not all the nonpublic school children eligible for this assistance have received it, sometimes because of conflicting State laws, perhaps sometimes because of misunderstanding or neglect. Moreover, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has by no means quelled the controversy over the issue of expending public funds for the support of private and more particularly, church-sponsored schools. It does not in fact address that issue. What it has done, through the "child benefit theory," is to provide a practical arrangement by which the public and nonpublic schools can work together in serving the overall national interest.

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Tending the Melting Pot

Almost from the beginning the shiploads of people coming to the New World had included a number of men and women who, in contrast to the colonists, had decided to sever their allegiance to their native lands and take on a new nationality. And almost from the beginning also, the welcome afforded those who were of other than British stock was often a good deal less than hearty. Even so stalwart a libertarian as Benjamin Franklin was not above grumbling about what he regarded as the excessive number of expatriate Germans who were making their way to Pennsylvania, complaining among other things that their strange tonge boded ill for the future of the English language in America.

During the years immediately following the Revolution the stream of these kinds of immigrants coming to the United States from Europe exceeded 5,000 annually, but the flow did not begin to pick up real force until about 1850. Then, after a pause imposed by the Civil War, it gathered increasing momentum, cresting in the decades just after the turn of the century. In 1900, of the Nation's total population of 76 million, more than a third were of foreign birth or parentage, and even so the peak was not at hand. That came in 1907, when the number of European-born immigrants arriving in the United States during that year alone reached nearly 1.3 million, and for the overall period between 1900 and 1920, the figure exceeded 14.5 million. Before World War I and subsequent restrictive laws curtailed the flow, the millions of men and women flocking to America from Europe represented what has been described as the greatest mass movement of people the world has ever known.

They also represented an enormous challenge, for as their number swelled, so did the problem of assimilating them. The search for a solution centered chiefly around the concept pf the "melting pot." Essentially the idea was that these millions of disparate individuals, with their disparate tongues and folkways, would in some fashion - principally, presumably, by sheer exposure to the New World environment - become "Americanized."

As has so often been the case when the Nation has been confronted by a situation no one knowns quite how to take, the job of tending the crucible was chiefly turned over to education. In a way that seemed to make sense, for the most obvious defect of the newcomers was their inability to speak English - an inability shared, according to a Government survey made in 1909 of schools in the largest cities, by more than half the students in any given classroom. But there were numerous other complications as well. among them a growing hostility toward these strangers with their foreign ways and empty pocketbooks. The immigrants characteristically were so desperately poor and lived in such primitive conditions that they were condemned as a blight on society. Moreover - particularly starting in the 1880s, when the chief areas of emigration began to shift from northern and western Europe to southern and eastern - sizable numbers of those in the lines at Ellis Island were Catholics and Jews and thus were automatically seen by some American traditionalists as debased and probably subversive.

Adding to these barriers to assimilation was the fact that the United States had changed from a rural society to an industrial one; the frontiers and farmlands largely opened up by Scotch, English, German, and Scandinavian immigrants were no longer available. So the "new" newcomers - the Italians, and Poles and Czechs and Portuguese and Russians, and throughout both periods the Irish - sought jobs in mining or factory towns, or more commonly, they jammed into the cities, forming ethnic enclaves in slums where, according to a study made of a section of New York City in 1894, the density of population reached the incredible level of 986 persons per acre.

In short, though there was cause for concern over the inability of so many of these people to speak English, and over the high incidence of illiteracy among them, the overall problem obviously went far beyond a lack of learning. Nonetheless, the Nation's love affair with education being well under way, the schools were asigned the leadership role in the "Americanization" drive.

The campaign got off to a faltering start, for the majority of individuals that were supposed to be transformed were not of school age. They were adults, either holding down jobs or looking for them, unable to attend school during the day and in any case shy of being in classrooms with children. Others were in locations beyond the range of schools, working as laborers in mining and logging camps and on railroad construction gangs. As for those in the cities, the greatest influx of immigrants always occurred during the summer months, when the schools were closed.

Out of these situations came a number of interesting innovations, some of which left a permanent imprint on the conduct of education. Classes jointly sponsored by local school systems and various individual companies were set up in factories and mills. There were "camp" schools, by which instruction was taken to men working in places not accessbile to regular schools. Many school systems inaugurated summer sessions, and perhaps most interesting of all was the establishment of night schools, then virtually unknown except in Massachusetts. That State, curiously enough, had in 1870 adopted a law requiring towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants to offer evening classes in mechanical drawing (in support of its emerging woolen, cotton, and shoe manufacturing industries.) This law was subsequently broadened to encompass other subjects - particularly, as the number of immigrants began to reach tidal proportions, English and grammar. Other States soon followed suit, some by revising provisions of their constitutions which by failing to foresee the possibility of evening classes in effect prohibited them. Thus did the night school ultimately become a standard feature of American education.

Meanwhile outside the established educational systems a variety of "Americanization" schools were started by religious, philanthropic, patriotic, fraternal, political, and other private groups. Some of these ventures were at best dubious - those operated by political factions, for example, not really for educational purposes but to sew up captive votes. Most nevertheless served a valuable and oten heart-rending purpose, especailly those in the slums that brought at least a bruch with schooling to the hordes of street urchins who swarmed through the city, hawking newspapers or stealing or begging, war orphans of a bitter battle for survival. With the adoption of compulsory school attendance and child labor laws, the localized ventures in education began to fade away, with virtually every youngster being enrolled either in public schools or in counterpart systems operated under Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish auspices.

So far as the schools were concerned, at least, the assimilation process was going forward in reasonably good shape. Hostility and controversy nevertheless persisted, and education became caught up in the furor. Many nativist citizens, some elements of the press, and such groups as the American (Know Nothing) Party and the Ku Klux Klan saw people of foreign birth or parentage as inherently posing a threat to American traditions and standards - especially when instead of enrolling their children in the public schools they sent them to schools operated by the Catholic Church, where they grew up, as one critic put it, "thoroughly foreign and under priestly control." In response there was a widespread movement to enact State laws requiring all children to attend public schools, In one State, Oregon, the effort ultimately was successful, though the law was soon overturned - in 1925 - by the United States Supreme Court.

With the passage of time and with the reduction of immigration from its previous massive scale - the consequence of Federal legislation adopted beginning in the 1920s - the cry for "Americanization" began to soften. So did enthusiasm for the idea of the "melting pot," which in practice proved more attractive as a figure of speech than as a practical way of dealing with people.

The feeling began to grow that perhaps it wasn't really necessary for everyone to be melted down and cast in the same mold. The United States was increasingly seen as a new kind of Nation in which cohesion among the citizenry was based not on historical geographical boundaries or a common race and religion, but on devotion to common purposes and ideals. In such a Nation it was possible for people to be diverse and still unified, the objective being not just assimilation but accommodation - perhaps the word is tolerance - as well.

L.V. Goodman
Editor
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Lifelong Learning

by

Ronald and Beatrice Gross*

In the education of a nation, as in that of an individual, the greater part occurs outside of schools and colleges. As the distinguished educationalstatesman John Dewey wrote in 1930, "Schools are not the ultimate formative force. Social institutions, the trend of occupations, the pattern of social arrangements, and the finally controlling influences in shaping minds . . . Effective education, that which really leaves a stamp on character and thought, is obtained when graduates come to take their part in the activities of adult society."

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This is a touchstone of sanity in thinking about the roots of learning and growth. We learn what we live. The classroom offers one specialized kind of learning, confined to one period of life and one part of the population. But the learning that enables individuals and communities to meet changing conditions and fulfill their potentialities is not stored up during the years of schooling alone. It is, as has always been, the daily creation of people learning and living together. The further back we peer into our educational history, and the further we look into its future, the clearer we see the force of nonschool learning.

As we cast our eyes backward it becomes clear that our greatest teachers were the land itself, in its vast loneliness and its promise of richness; the political and economic challenge of building whole communities, and later a whole society, from the ground up; voluntary groups, which the French observer Alexis de Tocquelville rightly remarked as so characteristically American; popular culture, variously represented by early newssheets, the Lyceums and Chautauquas of the 19th century, and today's commercial and public television; and a potent tradition of self-education stretching from Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln through Thomas Edison and Henry Ford down to Eric Hoffer and Malcolm X in our own day.

Above all, the great spur to learning was the American dream itself. The driving idea was that in this new world a man could fulfill his highest potentialities, become all that he was capable of being. In practice, to be sure, that noble ideal has not been uniformly applied. Throughout our history, considerably less than unlimited individual opportunity has been afforded to various minorities, and perhaps most pervasively to black Americans. The ideal nevertheless persists. Thus, in Frontiers of American Culture, the eminent historian, James Trusloe Adams, observed after a lifetime of studying our past:

> I think that what has perhaps struck me most has been the almost unique mobility of life in America, and, due to its infinite opportunities, the variety of jobs and positions - economic, social, political or other - which any individual may find himself filing in the course of his life. . .from this has followed the need, above that felt in almost any other country, for constant readjustments, with their educational adjuncts of one sort or another, at almost any age. . . This appears to have been an essential corollary to the whole nature of American life and the American Dream.

Let's focus in on some key moments in American history, to get at least a post hole sense of the pervasiveness and power of nonschool learning. The first settlers to these shores faced, and for the most part mastered, a learning challenge that dwarfs our highly touted "future shock." Imagine uprooting your family to emigrate to China - no, not China, more like the moon: an unknown, primitive, uncivilized, awesome fresh world. At once you face the task of disengaging yourself from your cultural and social setting, of planning for the trip, of trying to foresee what the new world will be like, of planning and preparing for it.

you get there you have the problems of acclimatization, of providing yourself with the necessities of life, of creating a culture, of writing laws and running a government, of creating a system of justice, of providing needed professional services. What other people have ever faced such a challenge to their ability to master new skills, understand situations quickly and well, make decisions, and create together? Beyond all other countries, this one has confronted its people with the challenge to learn and grow - or die.

The culture of the Colonies was created and transmitted without reliance on schools and colleges. We are taught that Massachusetts established schools in every township in 1647 and that Harvard was founded in 1636. But in fact what Massachusetts did was simply pass a statute which was honored more in the breach than in the observance until well into the 19th century. And what was created at Cambridge in the 17th century was not Harvard as we know it, but an inflated grammar school. Our now-great universities - Yale, Princeton, Wisconsin, California, and the like - are barely three generations old, in the sense of being true institutions of higher learning.

In early America it was the community and its institutions which educated the young. "Schooling went on anywhere and everywhere," one historian has noted. "Pupils were taught by anyone and everyone. . .and most teaching proceeded on an individual basis." If adults in general - rather than professional teachers - educated the children, who educated the adults? Their textbooks were the agendas of their own meetings, the Sunday sermons and mid-week "lectures" of their clergymen, the speeches delivered on holidays and militia days, the books, pamphlets, newspapers, and almanacs which proliferated in the early 18th century. Voluntary organization came to the fore early on. Its spirit is conveyed by the Puritan divine, Cotton Mather, who proposed in 1710 that neighbors form "benefit societies" and address themselves to the following questions, which could well serve as the guiding principles for one of Ralph Nader's public interest groups today:

> Is there any matter to be humbly moved unto the legislative power, to be enacted into a law for public benefit?
>
> Is there any particular person whose disorderly behavior may be so scandalous and so notorious that we may do well to send unto the said person our charitable admonitions?
>
> Does there appear any instance of oppression or fraudulence in the dealing of any sort of people that may call for our essays to get it rectified?

When the founding fathers articulated their notions of education, they thought not in terms of schooling but of the entire society. "Jefferson was a great believer in schooling," education historian Lawrence Cremin observes, "but it never occurred to him that schooling would be the chief educational influence on the young. Schooling might provide technical skills and basic knowledge, but it was the press and participation in politics that really educated the citizenry. Public education was to be only one part of the education of the public, and a relatively minor part at that."

This point of view echoes throughout the formative years of the Republic. It is a far handsomer ideal than the mere building and maintenance of schools. It proposed a society designed and operated as an environment for learning and growth. Washington, in his Farewell Address, called upon his countrymen to "Promote. . .as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge." This commitment to the popularization of knowledge, to the provision to every man the means to know deeply and act wisely, is rightly recognized by Dr. Cremin as the true "genius of American education." We have not been, first and foremost, builders of educational systems. We have been empowerers of learners.

Lacking great research universities and even, for a time, towering intellectual and scientific figures, we nonetheless excelled in the demoncratization of culture. Some of the earliest observers of prerevolutionary American life, as Merle Curti shows in Growth of American Thought, noted the unique diffusion of knowledge here. America, it might be said, flourished on a lot of little knowledge, rather than on pinnacles of concentrated brainpower. It was an interesting experiment which shaped intellectual life in striking congruence with our democratic impulses. One would have to be bold to claim that our contemporary pattern - highly trained experts, expensive professionals, diplomated and credentialed managers, and government subsidized research - is an unequivocal advance.

Even more than Jefferson, the founder who symbolizes nonformal education is Benjamin Franklin. Himself self-educated, he nevertheless fully recognized the need for institutional supports for learners.. His informal group of 12 members, the Junto, met continually for 30 years to discuss ideas and initiate social improvements. From their deliberations came a number of other organizations of nonformal education: a subscription library, the American Philosophical Society, an academy for young boys.

As America entered the 19th century, the burgeoning of splendid initiatives in nonformal education exceeds summarization here. Two stunning inventions must be mentioned: the Lyceum and Chautauqua. The first, launched by Josiah Holbrook in 1826, endeavored to popularize scientific knowledge through the sponsorship of study groups and lecturers, and also to agitate for the establishement of tax-supported public schools. In less than ten years it had 3,500 local organizations, with an overlay of county, State, and national organizations. The chapters created libraries and mini-museums, held weekly meetings, assembled and provided equipment for scientific experimentation, and hosted outside experts. Thoreau wrote in Walden that "The one hundred and twenty-five dollars annually subscribed for a Lyceum in the winter is better spent than any other equal sum raised in the town."

Following Franklin's fine pattern of stressing both individual self-improvement and social reconstruction, the Lyceums stimulated not only the public school movement but also, some historians argue, the establishment of the U.S. Weather Bureau, library extension, museums and scientific laboratories, the National Education Association and the American Association for the Advance of Science.

In the late 19th century the Chautauqua movement revived many of the impulses behind the Lyceums, though with added features - including summer schools offering plays, concerts, lectures, recreational activities, and formal courses; and for those unable to break away, correspondence study and guided home reading. The motivating forces were religion, money, and self-improvement - perhaps the most quintessentially American educational mixture ever concocted. The ideal of its inventor, John Vincent, could hardly be improved on today as an ideal for educators: "that education is the privilege of all, young and old, rich and poor, that mental development is only begun in school and college, and should be continued all of life." With the passage of time its small town base, its religious thrust, and its inevitable excesses and lapses have turned its name into a synonym for American middle-brow cultural striving. But when it was vital, Chautauqua was an important vehicle in spreading progressive ideas on social, political, and economic issues - "the kind of thinking that supported the careers of Presidents like Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt," according to historian C. Hartley Grattan.

The Lyceums and Chautauqua were merely institutionalized distillations of an oceanic educational ferment during the 19th century. We can only tick off the other nonformal educational agencies and modes which proliferated: public libraries, institutes like Cooper Union in New York, Lowell in Boston, and Franklin in Philadelphia; voluntary associations of myriad kinds including men's and women's service and professional associations, university extension, worker's education, the popular press, the great national debates over social policy, movements such as abolition, temperance, women's suffrage, the founding of experimental utopian communities.

Even more important than these enterprises were the social and economic conditions of the times. These conditions were still conducive to learning and growth; young people could see, experience, and participate in the work of the world as it occurred around them in small towns and cities. Apprenticeship offered training in most occupations, and there were few restrictions based on the need for formal education and diplomas. Opportunities were plentiful for many people to find and fulfill their aspirations.

Until the last 50 or 60 years this Nation thrived on an on-the-whole healthy faith in practical rather than academic learning. Learning outside of schools and college had been the mainstream. Distrust of schools stretches from Mark Twain, who remarked that "Soap and schooling are not as sudden as a massacre, but are more deadly in the long run," to Margaret Mead, who said" "My grandmother wanted me to get an education, so she kept me out of school." At the start of the 20th century, only ten percent of college age youngsters went on to college; the country was run by what we now call (to their damage) "dropouts," and

and who would argue that it was run with discernibly less humanity and reasonableness, if without computer technology and motivation research?

The significance of the Lyceums and Chautauqua lies in the models they offered of an alternative tradition in American education - alternate to our mainstream conviction that education equals schooling. Horace Mann's crusade for public schools in the mid-1800s is usually presented as an unalloyed blessing. But there was another side to the matter, and from our historical vantage point it assumes considerable importance. "In 1839, after hearing Horace Mann deliver one of his talks," writes philosopher Maxine Green, "Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote in his Journal: 'We are shut in schools . . .for ten or fifteen years and come out at last with a bellyful of words and do not know a thing.' To know, for Emerson, meant to feel his poetic imagination soar. It meant to open his soul to the 'oversould,' to see by the 'Divine light of reason' with which every human being was endowed. The Common School, teaching conventional or 'common' habits of thought and perception, seemed to him a barrier against authenticity. The school reformers, he believed, would make impossible the 'self-reliance' which alone permitted God to enter through the 'private door.' If, as was likely, the school inculcated vulgar and self-serving habits, or the values associated with Trade, it would merely serve to perpetuate an inadequate society, an Establishment that was basically inhumane."

Of course, Mann won. The public school movement swept all before it. But the suppressed tradition of nonformal, anti-statist, individual education continued flowing underground. It bursts forth periodically, when the oppressiveness and ineffectiveness of the established system becomes intolerable. The most thoughtful spokesman in our time was Paul Goodman, who thought through carefully but boldly the ways in which nonformal learning could provide answers to the problems besetting us in education today. His credo brings the suppressed tradition up to our own time:

> Ideally, the polis itself is the educational environment; a good community consists of worthwhile, attractive, and fulfilling callings and things to do, to grow up into.

> The policy I am proposing tends in this direction rather than away from it. By multiplying options, it should be possible to find an interesting course for each individual youth, as we now do for only some of the emotionally disturbed and the troublemakers. Voluntary adolescent choices are often random and foolish and usually transitory; but they are the likeliest ways of growing up reasonably. What is most essential is for the youth to see that he is taken seriously as a person, rather than fitted into an institutional system.

We do not have to peer into the past to see the potency of noninstitutionalized learning. If we merely open our eyes we will see it all around us today.

Even with schools and colleges so dominating our vision of education, the pervasiveness and importance of nonformal learning is readily demonstrable. Consider the vast educational enterprises of business and industry - occupational training, inservice training, occupational upgrading, manpower development, management and executive training. Add to it education in labor unions - apprentice programs, training of foremen and shop stewards - and an enormous armed forces network involving correspndence study, televised courses, and classroom instruction. Pile on top of this the educational work of churches and synagogues, community centers, civic organizations, voluntary groups, professional organizations with their conferences and conventions, the national health organizations, museums and galleries, libraries, government agencies, service clubs, and public televsion. Most significant of all, add in the individual learning projects which, research reveals, most adults engage in but don't consider "education" because they have been schooled to equate learning with taking courses.

The result of cumulating these diverse learning activities is to reveal the lineaments of a vast nonsystem of individual and group learning which dwarfs institutionalized schooling. This is the kind of learning by which

Amercians as persons, and our communities and society, really keep changing and expanding to meet changing challenges of individual and collective life. The quality of learning and of life for us as individuals, and for our Nation, is best measured by the quality of these learning opportunities. If they are narrow in breadth and unimaginative in character, our lives will be parochial and unenterprising. If they are varied, handsome, and challenging, so will be our prospects for growth.

This is true even for children. Recent analyses of the extent research on the growth of youngsters in and outside of schools - by Earl Shaefer, James Coleman, and Christopher Jencks - reveal three truths which should deflate the educators' chutzpah. First, the most rapid and formative period of a person's development occurs before he or she enters school, and of course the family is the most powerful agency in this development. Second, the Coleman report and others reveal that the impact of the school on students' learning is much less than we have thought. Finally, the Jencks report showed that schooling as preparation for adult life is much less effective than most people believed. In short, each of us is essentially shaped before school, outside of school, and after school.

In other countries, by the way, what we call "nonformal education" is increasingly recognized as a prime concern of those committed to enhancing the role of reason and learning in national life. In Yugoslavia, China, and Tanzania, the first principle of educational theory and practice is that what we learn, what we become, derives from the press of our entire social and cultural experience. A proper concern for education, therefore, must far transcend preoccupation with schools and colleges. It must embrace not only continuing education of a formal or informal kind, but even more what the British cultural historian Raymond Williams calls "the whole environment, its institutions and relationships, (which) actively and profoundly teach." "Education permanente" -- the label UNESCO has given to this broader set of concerns; it might also be described simply as learning and growth that are lifelong and lifewide, supported by a congenial environment of institutions and laws.

There is much talk today of the need to move toward a "Learning Society." But it is rarely recognized that there are two ways to reach for this great goal. One is to further extend and strengthen schools and colleges. The other is to empower individuals to learn and grow by giving them the resources, support, encouragement, and motivation to move forward on their own. We can concentrate exclusively on increasing the scope, the power, and the quality of formal education. Or we can choose to enlarge and multiply the opportunities to learn throughout the lifespan and throughout the society.

The fact that we grew the second way suggests that this may be a style that can serve us in the future. Having once learned together through our work and professions, through our communal life in city and country, through an inner commitment to individual fulfillment - perhaps we can create the kind of climate where that native impulse can catch fire anew. Perhaps we can go beyond expanding and improving formal education, and become once again a nation of learners.

Toward Equal Educational Opportunity

by

James Farmer*

The history of black education in America has at every stage reflected the condition of blacks in the Nation's society. At the same time it has influenced that condition - serving as a bellwether, a precursor of change.

Education of blacks is not a recent phenomenon, having in fact been relatively common in the New England and Middle

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Colonies, where slavery was comparatively mild. Indeed, the Puritan conscience as typified by the Colonial preacher Cotton Mather impelled that slaves be "instructed" so as to lead useful even though limited lives, and taught to read in order to absorb the Bible's lessons and save their "immortal souls." Humanitarian concepts, epitomized in the Quakers, stressed human rights and capacities long before a coordinated abolitionist movement emerged to require the educating of blacks as an obligation.

So in the period preceeding the Revolution there were schools in the Northern Colonies providing rudimentary education for blacks, geared chiefly toward Bible reading. Often such school's were established with the aid of white philanthropy, but just as frequently the initiative came from free blacks and black churches and fraternal societies. Ultimately, many of those schools became part of the public school system. Even in the South in Colonial days there were some schools, largely religious, for blacks, thanks to a more tolerant attitude than was to prevail in the period just prior to the Civil War period when abolitionist sentiment saturated the Nation and slave revolts rocked the South. In both North and South, to be sure, these schools were inferior to those attended by white children, and so they were to remain when the new Nation was born.

Thomas Jefferson and his colleagues saw the contradiction, of course, between the ringing words of their Declaration and the condition of the blacks in the land: "All men are created equal and endowed by their Creator . . ." meant all what men - not blacks and not women. But they clearly decided that the better part of valor was to defer that inconsistency for later generations to confront rather than risk a stillbirth of the Nation.

Yet, as the Revolution accelerated the demand by blacks and humanitarian whites for emancipation, so it also stirred the hunger for education by blacks, slave and free, who viewed learning as the road to freedom and eventual equality. It similarly stirred resistance to black education by apologists for slavery who agreed with the blacks' estimate of education's role but disagreed with its desirability. Thus education of slaves in the post-Revolutionary War South was largely by stealth - a surreptitious act of civil disobedience. The teaching of blacks, especially of slaves, came to be forbidden by law; penalties were harsh and punishment extreme. Being found with a book was as damning as being caught with a gun. Yet teaching went on - in barns, in black churches, in woods. Schools were broken up only to be started again and to survive their martyrs.

The passion for education on the part of blacks was a consuming fire in pre-Civil War days, and it burned with even greater intensity after freedom. Whoever could drive a nail took part in the building of schools, and all who could read felt a compulsion to teach others their priceless skills. But black education during Reconstruction was not, of course, only a self-help operation. Northern teachers poured South with missionary zeal and in their ranks also were some blacks. Black churches and fraternal organizations went south, too, in the mushrooming drive to educate the folk recently set free.

The task was so great, however, and the required funds so enormous that hardly a dent could have been made in the problem without the active participation of the Federal Government. The Freedmen's Bureau under the War Department joined forces with missionary groups and various aid societies in organizing and administering education for former slaves. Out of that partnership between the military and the missionary over 4,000 schools were built. Small children, parents, grandparents, and even great grandparents flocked to the classroom. Even necessities like food and clothing gave way to learning as the first order of need. The Bureau established Howard University in the Nation's capital, and in collaboration with the American Missionary Association developed such other institutions for higher education as Atlanta University, Fisk, Talladega, Tougaloo, and Hampton - all destined to become distinguished names in black higher education.

But despite the freedmen's unparalleled hunger for learning and the drive of government-financed missionary teachers to provide it, education for blacks remained inferior to that available to whites, especially in the South. Beyond the fact that they were segregated, public schools established for blacks during Reconstruction were of much lower quality than those attended by whites. And even the better Southern land-grant colleges, established near the close of the 19th century were, like the private schools, essentially available only to those few blacks whose families had managed to achieve a degree of affluence.

Further, "industrial education" eclipsed liberal arts as the focus of Southern black education. This development was produced by a host of intertwined historical forces. For one thing, the socioeconomic structure of the region, shattered by the ending of slavery, was reorganizing itself. As the scattered pieces fell into place, black skilled tradesmen were thriving and rising into a new middle class - there was indeed truth in the view that industrial education could equip blacks to respond to new opportunities. (Those opportunities proved to be short lived: white artisans began forcing blacks out of the skilled trades even as the idea of industrial education was beginning to develop.)

Meanwhile many Southern whites had come to regard such training as a way of building a social caste system to take the place of slavery, with blacks working with their hands rather than pursuing intellectual or professional careers. Philanthropists also supported the idea, though for different reasons, seeing it as a way of aiding black advancement while avoiding conflict in the tense post-Reconstruction era.

At the same time, numerous black leaders advocated industrial education and built an advancement ideology around it as the only politic and feasible course to follow in view of the existing situation. Bigots would not oppose it, for it avoided the threatening spectres of equality and power. People North and South who wanted to see blacks advance into rewarding ways of life, but really did not believe in equality of the races, would support it, too. Philanthropists, whose funds were essential, would back it. In short, the feeling was that blacks could make genuine progress without threatening the power structure and inviting reprisals. Considering the forces lined up to block racial equality, the reasoning went, it would not be possible for many more generations or even centuries. Thus nothing would be lost by postponing the demand for it.

Chief among the black advocates of this position was

Booker T. Washington, whose educational views were a counterpart of his philosophy on black progress in general. He sought to navigate the treacherous post-Reconstruction waters with diplomacy and skill. His were mthods of accommodation and compromise, not the protest and ceaseless struggle for which Frederick Douglass had earlier called when he declared:

> "Those who profess to favor freedom but deprecate agitation want the crops without plowing up the ground. ...Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will."

Washington thought that the power confronted by his people was so awesome that to "demand" in his day would produce only annihilation. When he counseled blacks to "cast down your buckets where you are" what he had in mind was not that they revolt but that they take up education. He believed that preparing a people for special roles in society - as artisans and other skilled and competent workers - would make that society dependent upon them. The result would be dignity and respect, though not, to be sure, equality. But after all, equality was deemed to be an impossible dream not to be attained for generations. Upward mobility would exist, but within the confines of a clear socioracial stratification. Integration lay in the distant future. Washington's vision was of blacks and whites being as separate as "the fingers" but as united in common purposes as the hand. And the vision was not unproductive. He founded Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, specializing in industrial, mechanical, and agricultural studies, and raised millions of dollars for his far-flung educational and developmental programs.

Though wide support from a broad spectrum of American society made Booker T. Washington's views dominant, his approach did not go unchallenged. Voices of protest were never stilled. The keen mind and acid pen of W.E. DuBois, for instance, continued to "assail the ears of white America" and to voice sharp criticism of Washington's compromises and "indiscriminate flattery" of whites. Dr. DuBois, a brillant Harvard Ph.D., never deprecated industrial education, but he insisted that there was an equally important need for education - including higher education -

of an academic nature. A born aristocrat, DuBois saw the hope of the future as lying in the "talented tenth" - the few blacks with a liberal arts education - who could elevate the masses. Progress would thus be from a "pull" more than a "push."

While the DuBois-Booker T. Washington debate centered around educational direction, the nub of the argument was over methods and objectives in black Americans' efforts to make their way in the Nation's society. DuBois's method was protest, by pen and tongue, and his goals were voting rights and the "abolition of all caste distinctions based . . .on race and color." To mount an organized program of public agitation and protest he founded the Niagara Movement in 1905. Its momentum was blocked, however, by the wide-ranging influence of Booker T. Washington. Four years later DuBois and some of the other key members of the movement, in collaboration with prominent white liberals, established the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Voicing the social objectives of DuBois, and demanding academic training for the gifted, an instrument to puruse educational equality in America at last came full-blown.

While the vehicle for the black American's early 20th century trek toward equal educational opportunity was at hand, the ultimate direction of the odyssey was not yet clear. There were conflicting road signs, some leading nowhere. While "assailing ears" in an attempt to persuade a reluctant Nation, wearied of race effort, the struggle sought its muscle in the courts. But before the turn of the century the United States Supreme Court had in the famous railroad case of Plessy vs. Ferguson enunciated the "separate but equal" doctrine and held that such an arrangement did not violate the 14th Amendment. In 1908, moreover - one year before the NAACP was born - the Court upheld a Kentucky statute requiring separate instruction for blacks and whites, and it remained consistent in that view for more than a generation.

With the legal basis of school segregation thus firmly ensconced, the struggle in the first third of the century was for equal facilities in the separate schools. This quickly proved to be a dead end. Facilities in Southern schools remained patently unequal, but in most cases the courts held that such inequality had not been properly demonstrated.

The NAACP and other black organizations rose to the challenge, gathering evidence that the courts could not lightly dismiss and insisting that separate facilities either be made intrinsically equal or abolished altogether. This path was more rewarding. Cases proliferated and devices used by States to avoid abandoning segregation became increasingly strained and costly. Missouri, for instance, offered to pay the tuition for a black student named Floyd Gaines to attend an out-of-State law school. The Supreme Court supported his refusal to do so and ordered that the State either build a law school for blacks equal to that for whites or admit him to the University of Missouri. Oklahoma, after court action, set up a new black law school in less than a month. Arkansas and Delaware admitted blacks to classes in courses not offered in the black State college. Texas built a law school for blacks which was promptly rejected by the Supreme Court because it could not be equal in terms of alumni influence, school tradition, prestige, and faculty reputation. As a consequence of such challenges as these, legal segregation was doomed. Inequality, in the view of the Court, clearly was an inescapable corollary to segregation.

What had occurred was more than an evolution in the Supreme Court perception of the issue. The new day also reflected a change in the mood of the Nation. By the 1930s the post-Reconstruction lethargy had lifted. Many people North and South who honestly had once believed that separate facilities could be equal and that this arrangement would be a viable solution to the problem of race in America, now sensed the farcial nature of that concept and the absurdity of pursuing it further. Moreover, slavery and the Civil War had faded into the dimmer past: now on stage were the children and the grandchildren of those bloody days, not the combatants themselves. Even Reconstruction no longer was a burning recollection of contemporaries.

Further, the New Deal spirt of powerful new alliances and of change had swept the land. The formation of the CIO had brought a feisty new element to labor unionism, depression-bred social radicals were everywhere, and blacks became integral parts of the new coalitions. Few were immune to this atmosphere. The Supreme Court, it is true, interprets law, not social climate, but the justices themselves do not live in a vacuum. It did not take long for the climatic case to arrive; the time had come for the idea of desegregation for equal educational opportunity.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States in Brown vs. the Board of Education explicity stated what previously had only been implied - that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." A year later it ordered that the decision be implemented "with all deliberate speed."

That was the fountainhead from which all subsequent activity toward equal educational opportunity in America flowed. If the Declaration of Independence planted the seed of equality in the Nation, the Brown case was seen as promising the harvest.

"What happens to a dream deferred?" asked the celebrated black poet Langston Hughes. "Does it dry up, like a raisin in the sun? Or fester like a sore - and then run? Maybe it just sags like a heavy load. Or does it explode?"

Martin Luther King's dream of equality had become the common dream of the black experience in America. The essence of that dream has long been articulated in different ways and with varying emphasis and modification of interpretations - by figures ranging from slave revolt leader Nat Turner and the "Underground Railroad" conductor Harriet Tubman to Frederick Douglass and DuBois, and then to King.

In 1954 euphoria spread among black Americans and among their friends and advocates in what America. But in the last two decades the harsh realities of today's educational problems have dawned. Those realities have been much more than the slowness of "all deliverate speed" or the resegregation through the flight of the whites which often followed desegregation; rather they have hinged on the elusive means of providing not just the form but also the substance of quality education for millions of children burdened by centuries of neglect. The realities have not eclipsed the dream, but they have awakened a realization that a long haul lies ahead.

The Brown decision set in motion boundless energies, spawned by the promise of Jeffersonian equalitarianism but pent up by delay in fulfilling that promise. From Little Rock to Alabama to Oxford, Mississippi, and throughout the South, children and youth rose to irrespressible and heroic dimensions and the barriers came down. They were of course other foci in the equality drive of the 1950s and 1960s. There were boycotts and Freedom Rides and sit-ins at lunch counters; voter registration drives were launched and, with Federal support, blacks were registered en masse; Dr. King, whose charismatic appeal succeeded in activating a sizable minority, perhaps one-fourth, of the black population, as well as millions of whites, led marches for across-the-board desegregation and dignity, and there was the March on Washington in 1963 - all stimulated by the decision that educational facilities by race were unconstitutional.

Resistance was overcome, and Southern de jure school segregation - that is, separate schools mandated by local and State laws - is now virtually a museum relic. But de facto segregation, the Northern variety springing from residential lines of racial demarcation, remains very much alive, and as the black population increases in the cities and whites increase in the suburbs, it is growing. Since the black city-white suburb pattern is growing in the South as well, de facto segregation is spreading there, too, and tending to replace its de jure twin.

Thus the busing of children to defeat the residential barriers to school integration - ordered by many courts and required in some instances by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as the only feasible plan to comply with the laws' demand for racially integrated schools - had become an issue of more heat than light. It has aroused massive white resistance and considerable black ambivalence. Other alternatives also have been proposed and sometimes instituted either alone or in conjunction with busing. There is the Princeton Plan, for example, under which schools are paired; there is also the concept of establishing clusters of schools known as "educational parks" without regard to neighborhood boundaries. In all these moves, a new motivation is involved.

The attack upon de jure segregation was based upon the conviction that such schools were inherently unequal. It was based, too, as testimony of scholars in the Brown case showed, upon the psychological damage done to blacks by their being told in effect that they were not worthy of associating with others in the society. The assault upon de facto segregation, to the extent that it is really de facto and not the result of districts which had been gerrymandered so as to appear to be de facto, stems from a related but different rationale. It certainly does not reflect a belief that blacks cannot learn unless in classes with whites. It reflects instead the thought that white schools receive better personnel, funding, and facilities because white parents wield more economic and political power, and that if black students are in those schools they too will be beneficiaries of that power. Thus far this approach has yielded only minimal results due to the white flight to private schools and to the suburbs, and consequent resegregation.

Meanwhile the past decade has seen the development in black circles of increasing concern about the quality and kind of education their children are receiving and its "relevance" to their life condition. This engrossment does not necessarily contradict the desegregation effort; rather it adds a new and more profound dimension to that endeavor. Such a zeroing-in on the substance of equal educational opportunity as well as its form, springs from two powerful and interrelated forces which alternately have confused and fascinated the Nation - first, black identify, and second, a grass-roots awakening to the proposition of maximum feasible participation.

When blacks were told in Brown vs. the Board of Education that they were not beyond the pale, and in the public domain were equal and could not be demeaned, self-concept flourished. And since the rejection had been on ethnic grounds, not individual, this new self-esteem was similarly ethnic. Black became not ugly but "beautiful." "Black studies" were demanded to augment the rediscovery of self.

Ethnicity unleashed, however, tends to court extremes. There was much nationalism and an element of separatism;

there was black hate to match white hate· there were even black cries echoing earlier white ones; "two, four, six, eight - we don't want to integrate." But such excesses, common to mankind, do not conceal the positive and useful thrust of viewing educational materials and devices through the eyes of a minority experience so generally neglected. In a pluralistic culture, this kind of identification can be part of the discovery of truth. Today, in any case, all signs indicate that black absorption with self has mellowed to such an extent that black "monism" is giving way to a kind of pluralism which while continuing to celebrate self, can celebrate also others.

One of the sparks thrown off by the "Civil Rights Revolution" of the 1960s, and further ignited in the anti-poverty program, was the concept of "maximum feasible participation." Ordinary folk, and poor, who for ages had been quiescent if not invisible, suddenly were bursting with existence. As in pre-Civil War days, the schools were their primary target. They were mothers and fathers, and they knew their children were not learning to read or compute any better than they themselves had learned.

Their new-found sense of importance was outraged. What they demanded was that the school which their children attended be accountable to them for its product, and that their community organizations be granted a control enabling them to evaluate and react to the schools' performance. Those in motion now were not DuBois's "talented tenth," but King's "involved fourth."

The inner-city parents were not educators or even necessarily educated, and many educators understandably took a dim view of granting such control to nonprofessionals. In addition some unions of teachers objected to persons outside their contractual relationship being in a position to affect the job security of their members. Perhaps for these reasons the concept of community control of schools was doomed in most cases from its inception. But a legacy of community participation remained, and the idea of accountability for the product is now accepted by a growing number of school administrators. The failure of "community control" to gain ascendency did not mean that the issues joined by community folk were of no validity and sparked no exploration. Moreover, others with no less passion joined in taking up the crudgel.

Our schools, educators have pointed out, are not yet adept at educating children of the poor, the nonwhite, and those of rural cultures. In the new era of participation, that breakdown is not being accepted passively. Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, as well as blacks, have insisted upon wider use of material of an ethnic nature to which their children can relate. The Spanish-speaking have further demanded, and in many cases secured, bilingual education. Minority scholars, and many from the majority too, have devised "culture-pluralistic" and "culture-specific" tests of intelligence, aptitude, and achievement - alternatives to standardized tests in general use that are seen as possessing a cultural bias disadvantageous to minority students. (Other scholars, it should be noted, while acknowledging the existing cultural bias, see the solution as "acculturation" rather than changing the tests.)

Compensatory education programs under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have proliferated, even though with limited results. Government sponsored research sets an unprecedentedly high priority on work to improve the educating of minorities. Colleges and professional schools have launched affirmative action recruitment so as not to be found wanting in the percentages of minority students of which they can boast, and developmental or remedial courses have been instituted to help the minority recruits succeed. And what this spirited activity by government, school systems, and universities reflects is the mood of the day - a sense of urgency communicated by minority communities. The results may not yet be meaningful, but a sense of movement is undeniably there.

Clearly, then, "equal educational opportunity" has undergone considerable redefintion since Brown vs. the Board of Education. The aspirations of the great-grandchildren of slaves have risen. A little advancement, like a little food, has whetted the appetite; that is the story of human progress. The goal is no longer equal access - equal right to enroll in a school or sit in a classroom. It is now equal results. It is to employ methods and materials and programs capable of closing gaps in educational achievement.

And still further, the objective is to raise the educational level of the whole Nation, for the attainment of equality on any level below that of excellence is now perceived to be an empty triumph.

New Era for Special Education

An aspect of Indian culture that astonished the colonists, we are told, was the concept that the gods had a special concern for the mentally and physically handicapped and that all creatures on earth were obliged to share it.

The more prevalent feeling, a legacy from the Middle Ages, was essentially one of rejection. It was thus perhaps inevitable that the initial moves to provide education for the handicapped entailed removing them from everyday affairs. Those offered any help at all were normally placed in an "asylum," a word which, along with "feebleminded" and "deaf and dumb," quickly acquired pejorative connotations. The effort was nevertheless a major step forward, and it began in the New World with Americans who traveled to Europe to study the pioneering techniques beginning to emerge there.

One such was Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet. Not only a teacher but a teacher of teachers, he became so interested in the communications problems confronting people who could not hear that he went to Paris to visit a school for the deaf that had been started by a young priest named the Abbe de l'Epee. When Mr. Gallaudet returned to the United States he brough with him a deaf man who had been trained at the school, Laurent Clerc, and in 1817 they established the Nation's first formal educational institute for the handicapped - the American Asylum for the Deaf, located in West Hartford, Connecticut. Mr. Gallaudet was in time to gain an international reputation for his leadership in the education of deaf and other handicapped children, and he is memorialized today by Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C., the only liberal arts college for the deaf in the world.

Another importer of European techniques for educating the handicapped was John D. Fisher, who had gone to Paris to study medicine There he became fascinated by the work being done in a residential school for the blind that had been started by Valentin Hauy. After his return to the United States in 1826, Dr. Fisher described that work so persuasively that three years later the Massachusetts State Legislature voted funds to establish in Boston the New England Asylum for the Blind (soon thereafter renamed the Perkins School for the Blind and subsequently relocated in its present site in Watertown.) The initial director of the school was a physician named Samuel Greeley Howe, and his contributions and those of Dr. Fisher also were to be memorialized - in their cases by the accomplishments of two remarkable women who had been born both blind and deaf.

The first was Laura Bridgman, who began her instruction at Perkins in 1837 when she was seven years old. Her success not only in learning to read and write but as an extraordinarily effective teacher brought new hope to the parents of handicapped children around the world. One such parent was the mother of six-year-old Helen Keller, who read about Laura Bridgman's achievements and sought help from a graduate of Perkins Institute named Anne Sullivan. With Anne Sullivan's help and hew own indomitable determination, Helen Keller became the author of several books, a much-sought after lecturer, and one of the most admired public figures the Nation has ever known.

Spurred by such examples of what could be done, other institutions for youngsters suffering various handicapping conditions began to come into existence. Most clung to the practice of separating the handicapped from society in special schools, but appearing here and there were arrangements which, while segregating handicapped youngsters from other children, at least made it possible for them to remain with their families. In 1871 a day school was established in Boston for deaf pupils, for example, a class in Providence in 1896 for the retarded, another in Chicago in 1899 for crippled children.

One of the most effective spokesman for this approach was Alexander Graham Bell, who proposed to the 1898 convention of the National Education Association that programs for the handicapped be established in the public schools.' Such children, he said, would "form an annex to the public school system, receiving special instruction from special teachers who shall be able to give instruction to little children who are either deaf, blind, or mentally deficient, without sending them away from their homes or from the ordinary companions with whom they are associated." Dr. Bell was addressing the conference not as the celebrated inventor of the telephone but as a speech expert from a family of speech experts. He had among other things successfully undertaken the instruction of a deaf boy named George Sanders in Salem, Massachusetts, and it was in the Sanders home that he made his first telephone experiments. When it became clear that his invention would bring him wealth, Dr. Bell wrote to his mother, "Now we shall have money enough to teach speech to little deaf children."

Dr. Bell's comment was revealing not only of his character but of the shaky financial base of the various efforts to educate the handicapped. It is probably fair to say that in general, education of the handicapped ("special education," as it is now referred to by educators) was thought of by the public at large as essentially an exercise in charity. Not long after the turn of the century Elizabeth Farrell, a young teacher at Public School Number 1 in New York City, advocated and exemplified a new point of view. Considering handicapped children not as a caste of unfortunates, but instead viewing them as individuals, she dedicated herself "to the end that each and every child should be given the opportunity to develop according to his capabilities." She worked first with a group of boys regarded as misfits because of their chronic truancy. On the theory that the school should adapt to them rather than demand that they adapt to the school, she organized an ungraded class in which the children learned with materials not usually associated with the classroom - picture puzzles, tools, paint and brushes, even tin cans. From there she went on to organize basic classes for younger children with intelligence quotients of less than 50 and trade courses for retarded older boys and girls. Along the way, in 1922, she organized and was first president of what is now The Council for Exceptional Children.

"Exceptional children" is an inclusive term covering not only the Helen Kellers and Laura Bridgmans and Miss Farrell's chronic truants, but also exceptionally gifted youngsters whose very brightness can produce problems for them; the physically, mentally, and emotionally handicapped; children whose socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds set them apart; students with motor, visual, auditory, communication, behavioral, cognitive, and specific academic learning disabilities - in short, boys and girls in need of special educational programs, services, facilities, or materials.

There are an estimated seven million such school-age youngsters in the United States - some 10 or 12 percent of the overall school-age population - plus another million preschoolers. Particularly because of efforts undertaken during the current decade, major progress has been made in affording them educational opportunities commensurate with their needs. During the last five years the number of handicapped children receiving effective special education services has climbed from 2.1 million to nearly three million. That nevertheless leaves another three million or so who are receiving considerably less than an adequate education and one million who are denied access to a free public education altogether.

Moreover, the figures alone do not indicate the depths of the handicapped children's dilemma. They are still more often than not categorized, almost as if they were something less than individual human beings; they bear a stigma. They are often separated from other children - not infrequently at the instigation of parents and educators who see the possiblity of difficulties or disruptions - a practice that is particularly corrosive for children whose handicaps are relatively minor. Civil rights actions have revealed many cases in which black, Mexican-American, and American Indian youngsters have been placed in classes for the retarded when their "problem" would appear simply to have been a different cultural background.

Stimulated in part by the progress achieved during the past five years, a surge of activity is now under way toward strengthening special education in all its parts. More and more public schools, for example, are seeking to reach out to the severely or multiple handicapped child.

There are programs to help the parents of handicappped children start the educative process during infancy. A search is on for better testing and evaluation procedures (particularly in relation to minority groups). There are programs to involve handicapped boys and girls more fully in career or vocational education. There are renewed efforts to serve the needs of the gifted and talented. In general, there is increasing interest in bringing exceptional youngsters into education's mainstream. While the word "mainstreaming" seems to have different meanings for different people and programs, its essence is the idea of providing special education to exceptional children while they attend regular classes. It should be noted, however, that some educators feel immediate total inmersion in regular classes to be impractical for a significant portion of handicapped children and suggest instead what they call "progressive inclusion" - that is, starting off by including the handicapped child in selected classroom activities for limited spans of time and then moving forward from there.

Behind such moves as these is a changing philosophy that is increasingly being spelled out in the law. The education of exceptional children is no longer perceived as a matter of charity or simply as wise practice initiated by an enlightened society determined to capitalize to the fullest on its human resources. The issue now is one of the handicapped child's rights as a citizen - the proposition that the public schools are as fully obligated to serve exceptional children as they are any others of school age. The courts have agreed, perhaps most strikingly in the landmark 1971 case of Pennsylvania Association for the Retarded v. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, which held that the public schools of that State could not ignore the educational needs of the mentally retarded (and by implication the needs of other exceptional children as well). By now at least 36 lawsuits have been filed in 25 States aimed at guaranteeing handicapped children their right to an education and bringing an end to State and local policies and practices that either exclude these children or provide them with an education that is clearly inappropriate. In all major instances in which decisions have been rendered, the courts have found for the plaintiffs.

Special education is thus entering a new era, demonstrating as it does so that the principles commemorated in the Bicentennial observance remain vigorous. It is of course true that millions of handicapped youngsters are still effectively detoured from "the pursuit of happiness," but their number is dwindling. More and more are being offered truly equal educational opportunity, the right to achieve their potential and thereby make their individual contribution to the Nation's further progress.

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Tomorrow's Education
by
Ralph W. Tyler*

During the 200 years of our Nation's existence the schools have been called upon to respond to the needs and expectations of a society marked by ours, so rapid, and so extensive as to inhibit and in some ways nullify the role of tradition.

They have done so with amazing success. Other social institutions also have made important contributions to the education of our citizenry, of course, but it is the schools that have had the basic responsibility. In carrying out that responsibility they have taken the lead in building and maintaining a dynamic and yet stable political and social order. They have been at the heart of the development of a labor force possessing those levels of flexibility, intelligence, and skill necessary to undergrid the remarkable advances that have been made in agriculture, industry, and commerce. They have helped to induct into the common life of the Nation millions of newcomers from diverse cultures, speaking different languages and having different customs and folkways. They have been primarily responsible for creating an environment in which, during the last generation, about half of the population moved up to higher levels of affluence and responsibility than those attained by their parents, while only about a fourth moved down. And while serving the needs of society as a whole, they have also sought to serve Americans as individuals, offering them opportunities to develop their own special talents, pursue their own particular interests, and achieve their own personal goals.

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The common characteristic in these enterprises has been responsiveness to society's evolving demands and expectations. Tomorrow's education can thus be expected to be shaped by tomorrow's society, and the new demands, new problems, and new aspirations it is heir to. Along the way, of course, it will be necessary to take care of some unfinished business, prominently including the challenge of educating all the Nation's children. We speak glibly of having universal elementary education in America, and statistically the statement [illegible] accurate, with 95 percent or more of the Nation's children enrolled in school. Results of the National Assessment of Educational Progress indicate, however, that about 20 percent of these children do not in fact acquire the skills and knowledge taught in the primary grades and are left unprepared to progress either in school or toward responsible adulthood.

Characteristically coming from homes of poverty where their parents have had little education, they are confronted when they enter school by formidable barriers. The encounter, for example, a curriculum (and a way of presenting it) developed to serve children from homes where the parents have already built a ground-work for schooling - by having books in the home, by reading aloud from them, by engaging the children in conversations that express orderly thought and draw on ideas, and by instilling confidence in their sons and daughters that they can handle school work. Boys and girls who have not received this kind of stimulation are likely to perceive school learning not only as overwhelmingly difficult but irrelevant to their lives. To enable them to absorb what the school seeks to teach requires the construction of a new kind of curriculum, the use of new kinds of teaching methods, and the development of approaches that engage these particular children at a level where they actually are and help them move forward in terms of their individual abilities and interests.

Another frustrating barrier standing in the way of such children is the continued use in many places of practices geared to an earlier time when the school's function was fully as much to sort students as to educate them. When the Nation was new, nearly 80 percent of the labor force was engaged in unskilled labor, less than three percent in professional and managerial occupations. Even so much as an elementary education was not necessary to be productive in primitive agriculture, manufacturing, and construction, and only a very few men (and no women) needed preparation for the professions. It seemed sensible, then, to ration education so that the numbers of people receiving different amounts of schooling would correspond roughly to the available opportunities. This soring process was turned over to the schools, and it was accomplished by the classroom grades given out to the pupils. Marks of "excellent" or "good" served to encourage further education, while "poor" and "failure" signaled the advisability of trying something else. For the purpose at hand, this weeding out process was effective. In 1910, for example, about half of America's children had stopped their schooling by the age of 12 but still managed to find jobs of one kind or another. Only ten percent went on through high school, and only three percent graduated from college.

Societal demands today are of course vastly different. In 1970 less than five percent of the men and women making up the labor force were engaged in nonfarm unskilled labor, while more than 40 percent were engaged in professional, technical, and other occupations requiring more than a high school education. Toward meeting the needs of both of the individual and of society at large, the schools are now expected to help every child achieve the full limit of his or her potential - a goal at odds with the continued use of a marking system that in effect tells many children to give up. Since 1965 national attention has been focused on finding ways of educating these youngsters, and progress slowly is being made. Significant improvements are nonetheless reported in only about one-third of the classrooms where there are concentrations of children from homes of poverty. The schools of tomorrow will be more fully responsive to this challenge, and we can expect the number of American children who are truly gaining a primary education to increase from the present 80 percent to at least 95 percent.

Going beyond education's unfinished business, a second major responsibility facing tomorrow's education is the orderly and effective transition of youth from childhood to constructive participation in adult life. As American society has become specialized and urbanized, young people have increasingly become more isolated from it. There are fewer responsibilities assigned to children as their contribution to maintaining the family, and fewer opportunities for them to help with their parents' occupations, to participate in adult social affairs, to try out adult roles, even to obtain part-time jobs. For earlier generations these were significant ways in which young people were aided in their progress to adulthood. Meanwhile, however, work left the home and farm to be carried on in factory and shop, and as it did so, concern arose for the safety and welfare of the youth drawn to it. Among other things, that concern stimulated the enactment of laws strickly regulating child labor, raising the compulsory age of school attendance, and establishing minimum wages. Useful and even necessary though these statutes and regulations have been, they have coincidentally greatly limited the opportunity for young people to learn what work and adult life are all about. The net result of this forced isolation has been to alienate young people from the adult society, to delay personal and social maturation, sometimes to inhibit permanently the development of responsibility because of over-protection from the consequence of personal actions.

American society cannot long endure without a means for a peaceful and effective transition of youth in adulthood. As arrangements of the past have dissolved, new provisions must be constructed. In the Communist countries, this transition is largely the task of the Communist youth organizations that take over the activities of young people for several hours at the end of each school day and on holidays. A roughly similar function was performed in the United States during the Depression of the 1930s by the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, established as emergency measures to provide work for young people at a time of massive unemployment. Although these agencies aided great numbers of American youth, they were not well integrated either into the schools or the overall society, serving only low-income families and providing only a limited range of work experience. The needs of the future call for a more permanent, more carefully planned approach that involves all youth in a variety of constructive adult activities in which they take increasing initiative and responsibility.

Many community institutions and organizations need to participate in endeavors of this sort, but the school is in the best position to serve as coordinator, to take the lead in drawing up appropriate plans, to help young people determine the particular programs best suited to their needs and aspirations, and to monitor these programs toward assuring their educative effectiveness.

Tomorrow's schools also can be expected to be deeply involved in the related issue of occupational education. Until the present century the number of different occupations was small, and the professions aside, most required very little training, Particularly during the past few decades, however, advances in science and technology have created thousands of jobs unknown to previous generations and requiring specialized knowledge and technical preparation. Thus the traditional usefulness of apprenticeship, which depends heavily on observing the master and emulating his example, has been significantly narrowed. One cannot easily observe what the master is thinking, and in any case new technology is likely to render his procedures obsolete. For a number of reasons, then, apprenticeship and on-the-job training have become inadequate to serve a large sector of young people.

The high schools face some critical difficulties in providing occupational education. A recent public opinion survey, to cite one example, showed that more than 90 percent of the parents wanted their children to go to college and that more than 70 percent expected them to do so. In most high schools, however, enrollment in vocational education programs means skipping the courses commonly required for college admission, and in this circumstance many parents insist that their children avoid vocational training. Many other parents do not raise that barrier, of course, but here too the situation is unsatisfactory, since the schools have difficulty in providing instruction and working laboratories that realistically respond to the range of jobs that are likely to be opening up. Communities that have a large fraction of young people wanting vocational education are typically those that can offer only limited employment opportunities. In rural areas, for example, more than 80 percent of the youth must go into the cities if they are to find jobs, but few if any rural high schools have personnel or facilities capable of providing education for most urban occupations, much less the time and opportunity to keep pace with the constantly changing character and requirements of those occupations.

Within the cities and in rural areas alike there remains a problem pointed out in the 1962 report of the Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education - that the youngsters most in need of vocational education in order to gain a permanent place in the labor force are those from low-income homes - the same youngsters that the schools have not been reaching. And there is the problem also of adults who need retraining because their jobs have been eliminated or sharply changed by technological innovations, a situation that few schools are really prepared to deal with.

The strengthening of occupational education thus must rank high on education's agenda for the future, and moves now under way in this direction can be expected to accelerate. One such move is the concept of "career education," advanced by Sidney P. Marland, Jr., when he was U.S. Commissioner of Education and now being pursued - with continuing stimulus from the Office of Education - in a number of States. Typically, the schools in these States follow a pattern by which, as part of the regular academic program, children explore the world of work in the elementary grades, systematically examine various possible careers in the junior high school years, and at the high school and post-high school levels are afforded opportunities to prepare the initial employment. Another move is the development in some high schools of a core of educational offering for all students which assures that those who devote some of their time to vocational training are not thereby made ineligible for college. Meanwhile there is increasing interest in the expansion, both at the secondary and postsecondary levels, of "cooperative education," by which the student combines school and on-the-job experience.

Useful though such developments may be, however, it seems clear that for many young people, the problems of occupational education cannot be solved by the schools and colleges alone. Indeed, until industry, commerce, and public agencies join with our educational institutions in working out more effective ways for young people to gain initial employment and move ahead as they demonstrate greater competence and initiative, more than a third of the Nation's youth will never have a real career. As for the schools, they also will have to make considerable adjustments, not only by changes in the curriculum but by capitalizing on the resources represented by people and facilities outside the school. Toward that end, the schools will among other things establish flexible schedules so that young peole may attend school part time while working full time, or perhaps drop out for a semester or two and then return, and so that adults may enroll at various periods in their lives to learn new or broader skills.

An equally compelling challenge to tomorrow's schools is that of character development. The schools have always played a part in this complex process, of course, but the more traditional sources of influence have been the home, religious institutions, and the neighborhood. In earlier perods of American life, newspapers and other publications gave wide circulation to prevailing concepts of integrity and moral conduct, and persons seen as being exemplars of strong character were pointed to as models for young people to emulate. In combination, these various forces helped young people expand their behavioral horizons beyond an impulsive, childlike concentration on the gratification of immediate needs. Together they promoted conduct guided by a more mature concern for what is good and proper, a perception of long range goals and accomplishemnts, a devotion to certain beliefs and ideals, and the courage to follow them in the face of conflicting pressures. As a reflection of the larger society, the role of the schools was to reinforce these concepts.

As America has become a more open, multicultural society, however, the values and influences of yesteryear have tended to lose their potence. Many parents no longer insist on a particular code of conduct. Both within the community and more especially through the mass media, young people are confronted by varied and sometimes conflicting views of acceptable behavior and standards of right and wrong. The religious institutions no longer exert great influence on the mass of children and youth. Recognition and respect are given to persons for kinds of achievements that have no connection with moral values, and devotion to ethical standards and the courage to adhere to them seem no longer to be newsworthy. The result is a gap in young people's development if our society is to remain stable.

Tomorrow's schools will of necessity play a vital role in filling that gap. More than any other contemporary social institution, the school lends itself to providing young people firsthand contact with a community in which each person is respected as an individual without regard to color or family income or religious or ethnic background, in which people sincerely care for one another, in which everyone is encouraged to participate and to share in the rewards of accomplishing, and in which justice and fair play are the norm. The schools of today are much more like this than were the schools of the past, and more of those of tomorrow are likely to thus exemplify the nature of a truly democratic society. In doing so they will also be called upon to encourage young people to identify the values involved in the situations they encounter and the actions they take, helping them learn how to anticipate the consequences of those actions and become sensitive to their efforts on others. In these and other ways, the schools will be expected to make important contributions to character development.

Not just in this connection but as regards the learning process in general, tomorrow's education will begin early in the child's life. Self-motivation, attitudes toward others, the length of time that immediate gratification is postponed for more distant rewards, perceptions of complex phenomena, the ability to focus attention - all these are markedly influenced by the child's experiences in the period from birth to age five. Preliminary responses to this important fact have come in the establishment of Head Start programs and in the adoption by several States of legislation authorizing public funds for this purpose. The future will see a broadening of the effort and a refinement of it, so as to accommodate the variables involved. Some of the more obvious of these variables are the availability or unavailability of the mother in the home, family income, the amount of the mother's education, and the number of young children in the family.

It is unlikely that the schools of tomorrow will take over the early education of children whose mothers are able to be with them for most or all of the day, who interact with them in a coherent and logical fashion, and who give them encouragement and support while at the same time setting educational tasks that require concentration and effort. Where mothers are away at work, however, and no substitute is able to provide such experiences, the schools can be expected to assume a main responsibility. Some will develop programs within school building, staffed by certified teachers. Some will involve mothers and show them how to provide constructive educational experiences in the home. Some will use adolescents and senior citizens and others as volunteer aides. All in all, early childhood education will become much more comprehensive and varied.

Also high on the agenda will be moves to find ways of forging stronger links among the schools and the other major institutions and organizations of the community. In part these moves will be dictated by the fact that as society's increasing complexity places an increasing premium on knowledge and skill, the demand for education will exceed the ability of the schools and colleges to handle the job alone. Even more important will be a growing recognition that the school can contribute substantially to the development of the community itself, and that the community can serve as a major learning resource-as an object of study, as a setting for instruction, and as a source of people in addition to teachers who have important skills to impart. Models of this kind of relationship already are available. In New York State, for example, Syracuse University is cooperating with neighborhood school systems in operating learning resource centers at which an impressive list of community organizations and individuals participate in offering instruction. Empire State University, a unit of the New York State University, capitalizes on a wide range of resources within the State to enable students to obtain a college education away from conventional campuses. The University Without Walls and other "open" institutions of higher education not only make similar use of resources outside the college campus but enable students to set schedules appropriate to their particular circumstances and changing interests, perhaps interrupting their study from time to time, establishing combinations of part-time and full-time study, and in general making themselves at home both in the community and [illegible] the pursuit of further education. Many more of these community-school developments will characterize tomorrow's education.

Concomitantly there will be an intensified movement to address the rigidity that has come to afflict the Nation's educational system as it has expanded and become more complex. The sumptoms of this affliction are to be seen in an increased insulation of teachers and administrators from the community, the standardization of teaching approaches and procedures, a concern with material and status rewards at the expense of such intrinsic rewards as the satisfactions that come from seeing children learn and become more mature. Such development are common features of large bureaucracies, and they result in inflexible institutions that are insensitive to the needs of the clients and unable to respond effectively to changing demands. Democracies achieve flexibility largely through maintaining an uneasy stability among the tensions that arise from the varying needs and goals of varying sectors of the society. The process is analogous to the existence of living organisms protected by semipermeable membranes that permit water, oxygen, and food to come in and wastes to go out. Thus they avoid the destruction that would result from complete openness and the suffocation that would ensue from an airtight enclosure. To achieve the equivalent of the semipermeable membrane the education system must be an alert participant in the larger society, sensitive to the interests of those it seeks to serve and ready to sift out those elements that are trivial or misguided and bring into focus for study and response those that are relevant and important.

Tentatively, at least, several approaches are now being tried toward counteracting the rigidity of our educational system, with results that to date have concededly been more promising than effective. The most common is the inclusion of parents and community action groups in the planning and evaluation of school programs. Another lies in decentralizing the administrative structure. Detroit, for example, is divided into eight regions, each of which has an elected school board with a considerable degree of autonomy. A third is to establish alternative schools that provide students and their parents with options; the Los Angeles City School District has 30 or more of these institutions. Another possibility is the proposal that parents be given vouchers that could be appied to the tuition at any accredited school. All of these approaches have at least as many weaknesses as attractions. For the alternative school, for exampoe, it is no small task to attract sufficient students to operate within the public school district's average per pupil costs and to recruit a full staff of teachers who are at the same time competent and congenial to the basic ideas involved. Such departures from tradition nevertheless serve to alert teachers and administrators that the schools of tomorrow will succeed only if they become more flexible, more sensitive, in effect more human.

There will also be a more extensive application of advances made in science and technology, continuing a trend that is now well established in the schools. The behavioral sciences in particular have had a significant influence. "Practice makes perfect," the 18th century teacher believed, insisting that the child repeatedly recite the alphabet, meticulously memorize the Scriptures, endlessly intone his sums - his enthusiams stimulated where necessary by use of the hickory stick. These were the principles of teaching in schools where more than half the pupils dropped out after no more than three years of instruction. Psychological studies have long since documented the importance of motivation, of helping students perceive the significance of what they are trying to learn, of encouragement, and of relating classroom work to the realities of life outside the school. Such findings of social psychology will increasingly help to shape classroom procedures during the years ahead, particularly toward capitalizing on the demonstrated importance of the child's friends in determing school progress and in broadening the introduction of such practices as youth-tutoring-youth programs, cross-age teaching, group learning projects, and other enterprises that bring the dynamics of human interaction to bear.

Though the word "technology" understandably has sometimes raised the hackles of teachers, particularly when it has semmed to imply that education would somehow become completely mechanized, technological instruments and procedures properly applied will similarly assume greater importance in the classroom of the future, and their role today is not inconsiderable, Technology is part and parcel of the modern textbook and is accompanying exercise materials, and most teachers would agree that contemporary texts offer ways of stimulating and guiding learning far beyond anything available in the past. Similarly valuable are such varying products of technology as the increasingly sophisticated achievement and psychological test, the overhead projector (now used by teachers nearly as much as the blackboard), the tape recorder, and videotape equipment. The future can be expected to bring not simply a wider use of such products of technology but a broader understanding of their limitations as well as their potential, and of their appropriate role. Educational television, programmed materials, and computer-assisted instruction have not replaced the teacher, nor will they. To learn to read, to acquire an understanding of the basic principles underlying a scientific phenomenon, to gain meaning and satisfaction from listening to a musical performance - such achievements have as their primary requirement a determined, sustained effort on the part of the learner.

Moreover, students need to gain recognition for successful performance, to be given encouragement to try again when they are not successful, and to approach their work with a sense of their personal value as human beings. Perhaps there are students who are so strongly motivated and self-confident that they can fare reasonably well on their own. For the great majority, however, learning without human interaction can be tolerated only for short periods of time. For such students the teacher is irreplaceable, and technological devices can be helpful only insofar as they serve particular purposes within the teacher's overall strategy. Thus used they are without question very valuable. Certain kinds of information can be conveyed by instructional television, for example, far more vividly, more precisely, more clearly, and more convincingly than by a teacher's description. Programmed materials are extremely helpful for certain kinds of step-by-step learning. Computer-assisted instruction can not only address an individual student's specific needs and deficiencies but analyze and synthesize his or her responses in numerous useful ways. Such products of technology can be expected to play an increasinlgy important role in the classroom - to the extent that they give greater play to the stimulation, encouragement, and guidance of human beings by taking advantage of the persistence, precision, and laborsaving characteristics of the machine.

In summary, the agenda of tomorrow's education will include the development of educational programs capable of reaching those thousands of children who today do not gain so much as a primary education, the establishment of approaches aimed at helping youth make a constructive transition to adulthood, and provisions for collaboration among the schools and business and industry toward enabling young peple to find meaningful careers. It will include placing greater emphasis on character development, establishing programs for children who do not obtain adequate educational experiences in their homes, and enlisting other major social institutions to join in the educative process as part of the community school concept. There will be a conscious effort to reduce the bureaucratic rigidity of the schools, and the capability of the schools and colleges to respond to new circumstances will be enhanced by more widespread applications of science and technology.

In all these various ways education will build on today and yesterday to meet the challenges of tomorrow. As in the past, it will know its failures as well as its successes. Slowly on some occasions, rapidly on others, it will change - reflecting in either case the emerging requirements and goals of the larger society of which it is so integral a part.

Chapter V

WATCHMAN, HOW IS IT WITH THE CHILD?

Some Aspects of Child Welfare Policy
from 1776 to 1976

Lois-ellin Datta*
National Institute of Education

Our Child Welfare Bills didn't do so well in the legislature this year; we got less money, in fact, than last year. If only children could vote...

The boy was kneeling by the pillars of the office building. He sold papers, he said, to buy warmer clothes and more to eat. Two hundred years ago, this child would have been in an almshouse. By ten years of age, he would have been indentured to labor as a servant in return for food, shelter, clothing and training. A hundred and fifty years ago, he might have found his way to one of the orphanages springing up in almost every state. There he would have lived with scores of other children, receiving training in some occupation. A hundred years ago, he might have been among the first children sent west to "good homes". Seventy-five years ago, perhaps he would be placed in one of the newly-subsidized foster care homes in his own city. Fifty years ago, the child's family could have been among the first to receive a mother's pension, perhaps with the home-maker services. Today, his family receives a subsidy for his care through Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

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*Endorsement by the National Institute of Education is not implied and should not be inferred.

He himself hsa slipped through a network of services seen as needing reform (see e.g., 4, 5, 21, 34, 39, 42). He manages--barely--to attend school, live with his family, and get by with the money from selling papers.

Child welfare policies have changed, obviously, in the past two hundred years. They have expanded, contracted, and re-defined the population served along five dimensions:

focus: public concern began with the food, shelter, clothing and education of orphaned, destitute, indigent children (economic problems). It has expanded to include the psychological welfare of poor children as well as the emotional health and safety of children whose parents have enough money to provide for their physical needs,

responsiblity: paying for child welfare has expanded from mostly parish, private citizen, charity organization, or municipal monies to a larger proportion of funds from state and federal governments,

strategy: approaches have expanded from direct action on or with the individual child such as indenture or placement in orphanages to indirect and preventive action such as income maintenance and parent education programs,

tactics: the approaches have shifted (not expanded) from punishment of mothers bearing illegitimate children and removal of poor children from their families to income maintenance. A cushion of public funds helps many poor but otherwise competent families care for their children. Public policy includes an emphasis on strengthening the family's ability to care for children in their own homes and integrating children with special needs into the community, oversight: accountability has changed from primarily oversight by parish, private citizen, chairty organization, and municipal committees to establishement of national and state standards for child welfare services, and development of professional organizations concerned with expansion and quality of child welfare. Unchanged, however, is the role of individuals whose eloquence and evidence catalyze public reform on behalf of children.

It would be comforting to conclude these shifts reflect an increasing humanitarian commitment to the well-being of children for their own sake. Looking backward, however, child welfare policy shifts for two reasons. First, the nature of the problem may alter for political, social or economic reasons. For example, the problem of caring for impoverished young children whose parents were dead was greatest in the colonies when the likelihood of poor parents dying young was much greater than today. Now relatively few children are biological orphans.

Second, changes occurred as part of larger shifts in socio-political philosophy. For example, the shift from almshouses to orphan asylums was part of a general trend toward asylums and special institutions of all kinds--for the insane, the criminal, the juvenile offender--during the Jacksonian period. This trend in turn represented an otpimistic belief that properly organized institutions could remedy almost every social problem.

Social reformers, to be sure, created a climate of readiness. The climate involved awareness of the problem, the limitations of previous solutions, and the availability of potentially effective action. Thus, when it became clear enough that it was in the interests of adults to do so, child welfare practice shifted. As Beck says,

> the image conveyed is one of children,
> smaller than anyone else, lighter
> in physical weight and political
> clout, easily picked up and blown
> wherever the winds of economic,

> political and social movements
> were heading. (4, p. 668)

Major shifts over the past two hundred years of child welfare show a similar pattern: early recognition of problem, initiation of pathfinder services, a precipitating crisis leading to adoption of the path-finder service most consistent with larger social trends, discovery of abuses at about the same time the nature of the problem has begun to change, a re-evaluation of the "new" service, and a re-definition of the instances in which it is an appropriate model. At the times, the negative effects (discouragingly often anticipated initially) lead to revision before the new policy has had a fair opportunity to work. (2) Occasionally, extremes of rejection close down the services for everyone, including those subgroups for whom no better alternative is available. (3)

Another way of viewing the past, however, is to emphasize such change as appropriate to a nation whose first two hundred years have seen perhaps more social and technical invention than ever before. In the next sections, the trends outlined are discussed in terms of (1) the economic problems of children, (2) the psychological problems of children, and (3) the social problems of children, particularly vis-a-vis child labor. (5)

1. Economic Problems:

> And there was no food, and it was cold, and our mother went out and she never came back

The Almshouse and the Workhouse: Colonists brought to the new world two social inventions hailed as landmarks of concern for the poor. In earlier times men, women and children too poor to support themselves were jailed or they starved. The Elizabethans reduced the inconvenience of beggars in the streets at no great cost to the community by establishing houses of refuge. Here poor families, aged persons, and others unable to care for themselves--the handicapped, the insane, the feeble-minded--could live together, partly repaying the community for their expense by their manufactures and labor. Work was regarded as a social good in itself, and not a punishment. Children were expected to work whether they lived at home or in the almshouse, a condition existing today in many of the developing countries. The congregate group also was seen as the most economical way to support the poor. Public expenditures rather than the welfare of children was the major concern.

Children in almhouses suffered from inadequate diet, and lack of sanitation, education, and normal family life. Yet, the almshouses was considered a good, thrifty method of care for dependent children, because it provided work opportunities. It remained for over 300 years an established source of refuge for children whose parents had died or were unable to care for them.

In 1657, the first almshouse in the colonies was established in New York. Eleven years later, the Virginia Colony passed empowering legislation for workhouses:

> An act empowering county courts to build workhouses: 1668 Virginia Statutes at Large, II, 266-267...
>
> Whereas the prudence of all states ought as much in them lies endeavor the propagation and increase of all manufactures conducting to the necessities of their subsistence, and God having blesses this country with a soil capable of producing most things necessary for the use of man if industriously improved. It is enacted by this Grand Assembly and the authority thereof that for the better converting wool, flax, hemp, and other commodities into manufactures and for the increase of artificers in the country, that the commissioners of each court, with the assistance of the respective vestries of the parishes in their counties, shall be and hereby empowered to build houses for the educating and instructing poor children in the knowledge of spinning, weaving, and other useful occupations and trades, and pwer granted to take these

> poor children from indigent parents and place them to work in those houses. (10, p. 66)

By 1790, almost all municipalities had such institutions, into which also were placed infants and children too young to be indentured. The need for some special care for these children was recognized in such statutes as the 1739 regulations for the Boston Workhouse which bade some decent, clean women be available in the almshouse to receive infants, and to supervise their education and training.

Opportunities for abuse of good intentions were great. Between 1850 and 1857, reports frequently describe miserable conditions in almshouses and workhouses. On Thanksgiving Day in 1838, George Combe visited children in a pauper institution in New York City.

> The children in the Farm Schools presented a melancholy aspect. The weather was cold, and as the cold had come suddenly, many of them had not yet received their winter supply of stockings and shoes. They were crowded around the stoves with an expression of suffering and discomfort, which was distressing to behold. (10, p. 641)

About twenty years later (1851), Thomas Hazard worte of an almshouse in Coventry, Rhode Island:

> Visited the poor of this town..and found them in the most deplorable condition imaginable. The house in which they were huddled, was old and dilapidated--the furniture was absolutely unfit for the use of the most degraded of savages...A poor helpless, palsied female, who had not stood for years, was braced in the skeleton of one of these chairs... An insane woman...was ordered from her filthy lair...in a tone of voice such as keepers of wild beasts use in colloquy with Tigers... On the table...a dish of unripe, watery potatoes, was all the food to be seen...The

> supply of these miserable potatoes was evidently scanty, as they were soon all devoured, and the children lingered about the table evidentally hungry still. (10, p. 637)

In 1856, a "select committee appointed to visit charitable institutions supported by the state of New York" reported:

> There are at least thirteen hundred of these (children of paupers) now inmates of the various poor houses...Common domestic animals are usually more humanely provided for than the paupers in some of these institutions; where the misfortune of poverty is visited with greater deprivations of comfortable food, lodging, clothing, warmth and ventilation than constitute the usual penalty of crime...it is a great public reproach that they should ever be suffered to enter or remain in the poor houses as they are now mismanaged... From such associations they should be promptly severed; and provision should be made for them either in asylums devoted to their special use, or in such orphan asylums as would consent to take charge of them for a fair compensation to be provided by the State, or by the several towns and counties properly chargeable with the expense. (10, p. 648)

Conditions at least as seen by one English visitor, the novelist, Charles Dickens, were better in Boston (1842):

> We went to see their sleeping-rooms on the floor above, in which the arrangements were no less excellent and gentle than those we had seen below. And after observing...I took leave of the infants with a lighter heart than ever I have taken of pauper infants yet. (10, p. 642)

To the General Court of the state, however, the excellent conditions in almshouses were worrisome:

> Lastly, and the greatest evil of all (sending needy children to almshouses), creates and perpetuates paupers, by accustoming all the children in them to an easy, happy life in an almshouse, where they are well fed, clothed and instructed, so that the inducement for them to labor for their own support---and that of their parents---is completely lost sight of. (10, p. 642)

Despite this concern about the effects of soft living on children's willingness to work, the almshouses boomed under wartime conditions. Between 1861 and 1866, in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, the number of children in New York almshouses alone increased 300%.

The two hundred years between 1657 and 1866 had seen several reforms of the system. Education and occupational training for the young were emphasized. Public responsibility expanded from the parish, town or county, to support by the state. State committees were developed for oversight of almshouses, which provided some uniformity of reporting. The funds available for support of paupers increased from a few pennies daily to more substantial funds provided for state institutions. The venue system where individuals competed to offer the lowest bids to operate almshouses was replaced by municipal and state institutions.

Soon after the Civil War, however, the almshouses began to pass from the scene. The abuses had turned public opinion against them. They were too costly to operate and inadequate to serve the numbers of children in need.

Indenturing and apprenticing: Under Henry VIII, a 1535 statute legalized the apprenticing of poor children.

> Children under fourteen years and above five, that live in idleness and be taken begging may be put to service by the governors of cities, towns, etc., to

> do husbandry or other crafts or
> labours. (10, p. 64)

The use of poor children as servants or apprentices began as a humane, practical investment for communities. Workers were needed: what better way to combine thrift and public concern than having destitute children pay for their upbringing through their own labor? For almost 300 years, children were sold by their parents, or were taken from impoverished parents and placed by the community as servants.

.In 1619, the shipment of poor children from England to Virginia was regularized.

.On 7th December, 1641, Plymouth: "It is enacted that those that have relief from the towns and have children and do not employ them, that then it shall be lawful for the township to take order that those children shall be put to work in fitting employment according to their strength and abilities or be placed out by the towns." (10, p. 67)

.In 1672, Boston ordered poor families to bind out their children as servants.

.In the same year, Virginia required that poor children must be apprenticed until 21 years of age (for boys) or 18 years (for girls).

.In 1699, a North Carolina statute required binding out or indenturing poor orphans.

."Many parents in order to pay their fares in this way and get off the ship must barter and sell their children as if they were cattle. Since the fathers and mothers often do not know where or to what masters their children are to be sent, it frequently happens that after leaving the vessel, parents and children do not see each other for years on end, or even for the rest of their lives." (10, pp. 155-156)

- January 1, 1708, "Whereas John Bunley has appeared in vestry and relinquished his rights in Phoebe Anderson: Therefore it is ordered that the said Phoebe shall be bound out to Anthony Winston, upon condition the said Anthony Winston shall pay unto the said Phoebe six hundred pounds of good, sweet-scented tobacco in cask, when she shall become of age." (10, p. 67)

Considearable attention is given in the Colonial and early Federal statutes to regulating conditions of indenture and apprenticeship.

In 1642, a Massachusetts statue required parents and masters to teach a trade to poor children, whether indentured or apprenticed. The parents of apprenticed children could sue on their behalf for abuse. Committees of oversight (the precursors of recently discovered advocacy, monitoring and case management citizens' action groups) also could act on behalf of such children as the indentured servant boy found abused and dead, his master being brought to trial for murder. Apprentices occassionally took matters into their own hands, and ran away. More frequently, the owners would sell an unprofitable servant.

- Pennsylvania Gazette, April 3, 1960: "To be sold by Thomas Overrend, at the Drawbridge, Two white boys and a negro lad; all about fourteen years of age. Also very good lime juice, by the Hogshead or Gallon."

Indenture and apprenticeships ended about 1875 (10: 55; 56; 57). First, as manufacturing and trades moved from individual homes to industries, the apprenticeship system fell into disuse for the well-to-do and thus also the poor. All children increasingly were required to attend the new public schools. Another influence was the decline of slavery and indenture for adults. Binding over orphans and selling children of the poor into indenture as servants was increasingly seen as incompatible with the prohibition of slavery. Also, by the early Nineteenth Century, poor parents could no longer legally rid themselves of their debts by selling their own children into bondage. In 1793, Massachusetts ordered that parents could not bind out their children except as apprentices.

By about 1870, then, the social inventions of the 1500's -- the workhouse, the almshouse, apprenticing and indenturing the orphan and children of the poor -- had fallen into disuse or were prohibited by municipal and state statute. The climate had shifted to new forms of care for dependent individuals.

> "Asylum: (1) formerly, a sanctuary; (2) a place where one is safe and secure; a refuge; (3) protection given by one country to refugees from another country; (4) an institution for the care of the mentally ill, the aged, the poor, etc."

Special institutions for the care of children are recorded as long ago as 325 A.D. In that year, the Council of Nicosta established shelters for the sick and the poor. These became eventually asylums for abandoned children. (34, p. 617)

In the New World, only a few institutions for children had been established by the end of the Eighteenth Century. One of the earliest in the Americas was created when the Ursuline sisters in New Orleans in 1729 cared for children orphaned by a massacre in Natchez. Another was established in 1740 in Savannah by George Whitefield.

Benjamin Franklin wrote of Whitefield:

> ...instead of (the settlement of Georgia) being made with hardy industrious Husbandmen accustomed to Labour, the only People fit for such an Enterprise, it was with Families of broken Shopkeepers and other insolvent Debtors, many of indolent and idel habits, being taken out of the Gads, who being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing Land, and unable to endure the Hardships of a new Settlement, perished in Numbers, leaving many helpless Children unprovided for. The Sight of their miserable Situation inspired the benevolent Heart of Mr. Whitefield with the idea of building an Orphan House there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning Northward he preach'd up this Charity, and made Large Collections. (10, p. 271)

And Whitefield:

> Tuesday, Jan. 29, 1740: Today took in three German orphans, the most pitful objects, I think, I ever saw... They have been used to exceedingly hard labour and though supplied with provisions from the trustees, were treated in a manner unbecoming even heathens... This day I began the cotton manufacture, and agreed with a woman to teach the little ones to card and spin. (10, p. 272)

The ideal developed slowly. In South Carolina in 1790, the first public orphanage was established. The City Council of Charleston resolved:

> Whereas the present mode of supporting and educating poor children at different schools, has been found by experience to be attended with heavy expense and many inconveniences, and the establishment of an Orphan House properly organized and conducted, will be attended with less expense, more convenience and benefit, and may tend to give general satisfaction to the citizens and induce the benevolent to assist in the support of so charitable and laudable an institution...all such poor orphan children and children of poor distressed or disabled parents as shall be deemed proper objects of admission by the Commissioners shall be admitted into (the Orphan House) and shall be supported, educated and maintained at the expense of the Corporation... (10, p. 275)

Shortly after, in 1800, Mrs. Hannah Stillman of Boston was moved by the plight of an orphan girl. Inspired by accounts of similar establishments in Europe, she and several other philanthropists founded the first asylum for female orphan children. Two years later, William Bentley noted in his diary, "Female associations for the benefit of female children are being adopted through the United States." These included the establishment in 1820 of St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum in Philadelphia by Mother (now Saint) Elizabeth Ann Seaton (10, p. 278).

Religious and private philanthropy began special institutions for orphaned children. Public---first municipal and then state---institutions followed between 1800 and 1875, spurred by prohibitions against placing children in mixed almshouses and by the loss of indenturing as a mode of caring for poor children. In New York, Mrs. Isabella Marshall Graham led the way to incorporation of the Orphan Asylum Society in 1807.

> There are already about 20 orphans cloathed, fed and educated under the care of this Society. In the space of fourteen months, many of the children who knew not the alphabet when they entered, can now read the Bible fluently, and their progress in writing is also considerable. (10, p. 286).

In 1825, there were two orphanages in New York state. By 1866, there were 60. In 1866, Massachusetts authorized the first state institution for orphaned children. In 1874, Michigan created the first state public school bringing together dependent children in one central place, but with the intention of placing them with families as soon as possible.

The Michigan provision sounded a note of concern with the long-term institutionalization of children. This note had been struck as early as 1841. In that year, Whitefield of Georgia was required to answer a complaint that one of his orphan boys had been "treated with unwarranted correction..."

> However, the boy being now present and stripped, it is yet too visible from scars and wounds not yet healed, that great cruelty had been used (10, p. 273).

The quality of care for children in orphanages varied. Charles Dickens, visiting the Boston Boylston School for neglected and indigent boys who had committed no crime, wrote:

> They were in their school room when I came upon them, and answered correctly, without book, such

> questions as where was England; how far was it; what was its population; its capital city; its form of government and so forth... They appeared exceedingly well taught, and not better taught than fed; for a more chubby-looking, full waist-coated set of boys, I never saw. (10, p. 685)

The worst of children's institutions was---and still is---very bad. In 1950, Albert Deutsch reported shocking conditions in chil-caring institutions. Fourteen years later, in May, 1964, the Daily Oklahoman described Miracle Hill, which provided care for 72 children. Of these, 48 were under 5 years of age. All 72 were cared for by five adults, none of whom had any training in child care:

> Twenty-nine windows were broken out, stained broken ceiling boards sagged above a makeshift shower in the boys bathroom. In an unkept food storeroom, canned goods spilled out of a pasteboard carton across the floor. A gaping hole, large enough for a normal person to walk through was torn in a wall of the boys dormitory ... Inside (the children) moved cafeteria style along a wooden table as four older girls dished up the evening's meal --- cornbread, navy beans and ice water. (34, p. 650)

Ten years later, in March 1974, the neglect and abuse of retarded and emotionally disturbed children at Forest Haven in Maryland led to demands for immediate reform or closing the institution.

As Kadushin points out, there are two problems which have long plagued special institutions for children: money and monitoring, both necessary to "close the gap between the reality and the ideal".

Concern for abuse in institutions and uncertainty over what would be best for children created acrimonious disputes in the later 1800's. The debate was joined between those believing in orderly, well-run institutions, who urged reform, and those believing in homes, however humble, rather than institutions, however improved. These advocates of foster care argued that for most children, maintenance in a normal home was better than institutionalization, even if the home was not that of the child's biological parents.

To these arguments were added the decrease in the number of full orphans in contrast to children from destitute families, the public expense of building orphanages, and the invention of adoption as an alternative for full orphans. Additionally, the general limitations of asylums came to the fore. The insane were not cured, the mentally deficient healed, nor the orphaned transformed. Conditions in asylums were too often little better or even worse than the almshouses they replaced. Well-regulated order too often had become brutality and regimentation. Some called for reform of asylums; most turned toward new ideas (49). Opinion shifted away from institutions, leading to a decrease in the 1900's in asylums for poor children.

Today, institutions are seen as appropriate for groups of children whose needs are best met in a group setting or who cannot be served by other means: children who are emotionally disturbed, mentally deficient, severely physically handicapped, children in correctional institutions. Other children are sometimes placed in group settings: children for whom adoptive or foster homes are unavailable and rare instances as large families who may be orphaned in adolescence and wish to remain together.

In 1970, about 28,000 children were in institutional care: 20% in group homes for dependent or neglected children, unwed mothers or the aged and dependent, 30% in correctional institutions, 40% in institutions for mentally disabled, and 9% in institutions for children with physical disabilities.

For most children who are not mentally retarded or severely physically handicapped, the institution provides short-term treatment. The average stay in 1969 in residential treatment centers was 2½ years; in group homes for dependent and neglected children, 2½ to 3 years.

Public concern about unwholesome conditions and the cost of institutional care catalyzed a 1972 effort to deinstitutionalize as many children as possible. That year, for example, Judge Gerhard A. Gesell ordered the District of Columbia Children's Village to close down and other arrangements made for children who biological parents could not care for them. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from 1965 to 1975 offered demonstration grants and other inducements to return to the community children in institutions for the dependent, mentally retarded, the emotionally disturbed, and the physically disabled. Arguments in favor of these moves include the high cost of maintaining a child in an institution (averaging about $7,500 per year with an upper range of about $28,000 per year) relative to the lower cost of maintaining the child in a group home or foster care. In addition, there are problems of maintaining the quality of institutional care in the face of high staff turnover, and the belief that the children's potential for improvement and eventual reintegration in the community would be improved by deinstitutionalization.

The children remaining in institutions thus are likely to be increasingly in need of treatment (as contrasted to education and general care) and are the most difficult of the difficult. Proper care requires a well-trained, professional staff. This in turn increases the cost-per-child in comparison with institutions serving less difficult children. Still another trend is toward diversification such as institutions for the autistic child and the severely physically handicapped child in contrast to general purpose institutions.

In summary, special institutions for children began in this country in 1740 to care for children orphaned by sudden disaster. They evolved next as an alternative to indenturing and apprenticeship. Most recently, institutions have become specialized for the treatment of the most difficult-to-care-for children.

Foster family care: let them be placed in good homes
among people who will cherish them...

During the mid 1800's, there was a population explosion of children of destitute, often immigrant families. These "social orphans" by the hundreds roamed the streets of East

Coast cities. At early ages, many turned to prostitution and crime. No longer were destitute children orphans of friends and neighbors of the municipal and state leaders. Rather they were children of foreigners, many of whom were considered genetically criminal or unfit. New York in particular was faced with the problem of large numbers of vagrant children, about 10,000 of them by 1850, homeless, wandering, commiting minor crimes and living in great misery.

In 1849, the Rev. Charles Loring Brace turned to the "placing out system". Brace proposed "draining the city of these children" by placing them with farmers and others "who have need for such employment." Free homes would be found through the combined appeal to religious charity and the need for farm labor.

Between 1849 and 1929, the New York Children's Aid Society placed about 100,000 children in free foster family homes. Many of these children were full orphans. Some had been abandoned. Still others were half orphans or had living parents unable to care for them. Children were recruited by the Society from newsboys' lodging houses, orphan and infant asylums, and directly from parents. The method involved forming a group of children, screening out the physically ill, the mentally handicapped and the "incorrigible". The children set out for the West or South, accompanied by members of the Society. Their destination would be some community in which a committee of prominent citizens promised to arrange for foster families. The families were not paid to care for the children and placement did not involve a contractual arrangement. The Society retained control of --- but, according to critics, exercised little responsibility for --- the child's custody.

By 1900, the popularity of this procedure for placing children declined. The change stemmed from (a) the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church to placing the many Irish children in non-Catholic homes, (b) the decline in the numbers of orphans, and (c) the decrease in need for child labor as farming became more mechanized and the frontier closed. In addition, welfare professionals criticized the system, attacking the often casual method of selecting free foster homes and the looseness of supervision following placement.

Brace's placing out program stimulated, however, the development of an alternative. This was foster family placement, closer to home, and supervised by professional social workers. In 1883, Martin Van Buren Arsdale founded the State Children's Home Societies in Indiana and New York. The purpose was:

> to seek the neglected, homeless and destitute children and become their friend and protector; to find homes for them in well-to-do families, and to place them wisely; to look occasionally with discretion into the homes, and thus prevent abuse and neglect; and to replace children, when necessary; to make it possible for persons (without children of their own) to adopt a child to minister, in comforting assurance to parents in fear of leaving their children penniless and homeless; to protect society by guaranteeing proper home training and education to the unfortunate little ones against its greatest enemies, ignorance and vice. (34, p. 399)

Expansion of foster care system was hastened by the closing of almshouses, the problems of special children's institutions and an invention of the Massachusetts state legislature which helped ensure an adequate supply of homes. In 1860, the Massachusetts' legislature pioneered in paying board money to foster homes for the maintenance of children. Eligibility was limited to children who might otherwise be placed in institutions and who were too young to be profitably indentured. A second feature of the Massachusetts law was the emphasis on supervision of the placement process, and follow-up of the children.

Foster care received another boost when the 1888 National Conference of Corrections and Charities advocated foster family care over institutional placement. In 1909, the report of the first White House Conference on Children declared, "a carefully selected foster home, is for the normal child, the best substitute for a natural home." (34, pp. 400-401)

Between 1900 and 1970, foster family care placements (a) became the responsibility of social welfare agencies, public and private, rather than being left to private charity and (b) subsidized foster care, rather than free foster care, became the norm. This change was radical in the history of child welfare. Children were no longer expected to repay by their own labor the costs to society of their basic necessities of life. Rather, the foster parent was being paid by the state to ensure the welfare of the child, who was under no obligation to pay for this care by labor.

The past 75 years have seen a change, however, in the nature of children receiving foster care and thus in the nature of the system. Initially the parents of children eligible for foster care were dead or penniless. Two inventions provided substitutes, however, for foster care for children in such circumstances: adoption and mothers' pensions. The proportion of children placed in foster care declined in the early 1940's as these two inventions increasingly met the needs of children whose parents were dead or pverty-stricken. During World War II, the decrease probably was indirectly related also to soldiers' dependency allowances and the Lanham Act expansion of day care for children of working mothers.

Since the mid-1940's, foster care rolls have once more expanded. Now care is sought for children whose parents are unable to care for them due to social and emotional problems, rather than simply economic disruption of the family.

The composition of children in foster family care has changed from destitute children to those with the great social pathology in their homes. These children are both more disturbed and older. Some have problems so severe that a present issue is the responsibilities of the child welfare and juvenile justice systems for status offenders. These changes in turn place a greater burden on the foster parents, requiring specialized training and more extensive support by social workers. The first National Conference of Foster Parents, held in 1971, accentuated the professionalization of the foster parent role. The demands for child welfare staff, and more qualified staff, have also greatly increased as foster care placement of the older, more difficult children has spread.

Currently, the costs of foster care and the probability of long-term placement are increasing. A May 1970 survey of children placed in foster homes by the New York City Department of Social Services showed that over 6,500 children in foster care had had no contact with either parent in the six months preceeding the survey. The long-term cost of providing foster care from infancy through 18 years of age was estimated to be $122,500. As more women who once offered foster homes enter the primary labor market, and as the needs of children placed in foster homes have shifted from economic to psychological, the problem of finding adequate foster homes has increased.

To adapt to these changes, social workers have developed group foster homes, and small family settings staffed by house parents, and have trained women receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children for their own children to be foster parents for other children. Under consideration is freeing the child for adoption as early as possible in instances where it is extremely likely the child otherwise would be in foster care during her or his entire childhood, and other, prevention-oriented policies, that would reduce the numbers of children for which the "last resort" of foster family care would be needed (12, 21, 24, 41, 42).

Adoption

> The river carried me to Akki, the water carrier. Akki the water carrier lifted me up in the kindness of his heart. Akki the water carrier raised me as his own son. (34, p. 520)

Adoption of children is a novelty with Western countries. The Napoleonic Code on which many United States laws were modeled, provided only for adoption of adults. The first statute for child adoption was not passed until 1851, when Massachusetts establishes transfer of the rights, responsibilities and privileges of biological parents to non-biological parents. The statute required written consent of the biological parents, a joint petition by both adoptive parents, a decree of adoption by a judge, and legal and complete severance from the biological parents. As an additional feature, the judge was to consider whether the adoption was in the best interest of the children.

Adoption laws were enacted by Pennsylvania, Indiana and Georgia in 1855. New York did not permit children to be legally adopted until 1873. By 1929, however, every state had passed some kind of adoption law. Adoption, as an alternative to indenture, orphan asylums or foster care, seemed to offer the child the closest substitute for a biological parents' home. Many families, unable to have biological children, sought to adopt children. Enthusiasm again brought opportunity for abuse. Some needy parents sold their children into adoption rather than the now-illegal indenture. Provisions for reviewing and suitability of the adoptive home were informal.

Some individuals sought private benefit through high fees for locating adoptive children or for placing them, the incentive being to place children in a less-than-perfect home for the fee rather than lose the fee by assessing the adequacy of the clients. As late as 1925, the courts were hearing the case of an adopted child who had been sold to adults who abused her sexually. (33; 34)

Voluntary efforts to prevent these abuses were followed by legislation.

.In 1891, a Michigan statute required a judge to investigate an adoptive home before finalizing a decree of adoption.

.In 1917 Minnesota passed the first law requiring a detailed investigation of the adoptive home. The investigation was to be conducted by a local agency under the supervision of the State Department of Public Welfare. In addition, a written recommendation by the licensed adoption agency was to be made to the Court, following a trial period of placement before adoption would be final. The three components -- investigation by a licensed agency, recommendations to the court, and a trail period before a final decree--are now law in many but not all states.

Most adoption agencies now require adoptive parents to meet many conditions thought to maximize the future happiness of the child. These include a stable marriage, an economically advantaged home, and, in some states, matching ethnic and religous backgrounds of biological and adoptive parents.

But as apparent protection for the child has gone up, the number of children has gone down. Supply has been affected by the increase of planned parenthood and the decrease in disasters orphaning many children at once, such as the Civil War. Additionally, single mothers are retaining infants previously given up for adoption.

Some prospective adoptors are discouraged by the many requirements, the long wait, and the low probability of obtaining a child through social welfare agencies. They have turned to the black market of babies illegally obtained or the gray market of private individuals operating within the open laws of many states. For the certainty of obtaining a baby, such parents may pay two costs. The first cost is the often high direct financial fees: agency charges may run as high as $10,000. The second cost is the increased legal risk: the greater uncertainty about their legal right to the child and about the physical and mental characteristics of the child.

The proportion and number of healthy, white infants available for adoption has declined. There remain still large numbers of children with special needs. For these children there have been few alternatives to adoption but foster family care or institutionalization. Children with special needs include racial minorities, sibling groups, children of mixed racial parentage, handicapped children, and older children.

To find homes for these children, adoption agencies have expanded trans-racial adoptions (which has created a counter-trend against such ethnic out-placement by minority organizations), urged changes in the adoption laws to permit adoption without reference to a child's religious background, created greater flexibility in eligibility to become adoptive parents; and most recently, subsidized adoptions. Federal policies supporting adoption include funds available to the states through Titles IV and XX of the Social Security Act. Most adoption services, however, are still almost entirely provided by voluntary organizations "In contrast to the $2,800 a year per child the federal government spends on foster care, it spends $5 per yer per child on adoptive services" (26, p. 85).

- In 1967, the Adoption Resources Exchange of North America (ARENA) was established by the Child Welfare Leauge of America. ARENA expands the pool of adoptive homes beyond the municipal areas and individual states to a national network of adoption opportunities.

- By 1975, over 40 states had approved subsidized adoptions, where the community makes a grant to adoptive families to meet the routine expenses of rearing an adopted child.

- In some states single parent adoptions are now legal.

In 1971, 169,000 children were legally adopted. Of these, 51% were adopted by relatives and 49% by non-relatives. Of about 83,000 adoptions by non-relatives, 79% were arranged by social agencies and 21% were placed independently. The absolute number of adoptions has increased from 80,000 in 1950 to 160,000 in 1971, but the annual adoption rate has remained at about 20 per 10,000 children under 21. About 1.5 million children under 21 in the U.S. are adopted, 2% of all children. Only 0.1% of all children in 1971 were true orphans. The median age for adoption was 2 months; only 12% of all children placed for non-relative adoption were other than white. (26)

One year follow-up of adoptions shows only about 2% of children placed under agency auspices had to be removed from the potential adoptive home. Longer term follow-up suggests that about 65% of adoptions are unequivocally successful; 18% are moderately successful, and 17% of the children show severe problems. Compared to the "success" rate of children in long-term foster care, early adoption of children is seen as favorable to the child and to society (24).

Money--social insurance and financial assistance

Provisions of cash grants to destitute widows for support of themselves and their infant children was not unheard of in Colonial times. Records of parish churches as well as municipal councils tell of crisis assistance to destitute children until they could be indentured or other provisions made. There are also records of longer-term cash assistance to maintain children in their own homes. But these were isolated instances. Providing long-term public funds to permit able-bodied children of the poor to be reared in their own homes was a Twentieth Century idea. Acceptance depended perhaps on the Nineteenth Century shift mentioned earlier from expecting children to repay the costs of their rearing by labor to public willingness to subsidize the costs of child rearing.

Two major forms of financial assistance affecting children are social insurance programs and income maintenance. (26, p. 24-25; 34)

Social insurance: Social insurance programs provide financial assistance to workers in the event of accident, unemployment, illness or disability. Eligibility depends on previous employment. The programs are financed by employee and employer (or employer only) contributions. Eligibility and amount of benefits are defined by statute. Payment is made on the basis of these statutes to be used as the recipient sees fit, not on the basis of demonstrated, individual need or with limited conditions of expenditure.

Three social insurance programs relevant to child welfare have been enacted in the past fifty years: workman's compensation, unemployment insurance, and Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance (OASDI). The first two forms of insurance may be considered indirect ways of supporting children. Payment is not contingent on the family structure of the eligible employee. Both forms of insurance may go far, however, to prevent the crises that once darkened the lives of many children whose wage-earner parents were injured on-the-job or who lost their jobs.

The importance of the workman's compensation

> program might be gauged from the fact that over the last twenty years, the number of disabling work injuries has averaged around 2 million each year. The number of children affected by the programs through injuries sustained by the family wage earner is likely to run even higher. Because the state programs are so differentially organized, overall statistics on the workman's compensation program are difficulty to compile. As a result, it is not possible to state accurately how many childrn might be affected by the operation of the program. The fact that, in 1971, some 3.5 billion were paid to beneficiaries in cash and medical benefits indicates the importance of the program to the income maintenance of individuals and their families. (34, p. 134)

Unemployment insurance is financed through the Social Security Act. In 1935, the Act provided a Federal unemployment tax of 3% on the first $3,000 of each worker's wages, payable by employers. Since employers contributing to a state unemployment fund were exempted from Federal payment, it is not surprising that by 1937, all states had developed state unemployment insurance programs. The Federal government collects funds and pays the total cost of administering the programs. This leverage permits setting some general standards. Changes since 1935 have (a) *broadened* the categories of workers covered by insurance, (b) *broadened* conditions of eligibility, (c) *raised* the wage base or taxable portion of the worker's income, (d) *expanded* the duration of coverage, and (e) *increased* benefits for dependents. Both the workman's compensation and unemployment insurance benefits are set below the wages the worker would earn if employed. The supplement for workers with dependents reduces the burden on the family when the wage earner is unable to work.

The number of children directly affected by unemployment benefits is unknown. Kadushin estimates: "The number of beneficiaries of unemployment insurance in 1971 under state unemployment insurance programs was 6.5 million... One might reasonably assume that a considerable number of clients are heads of families with dependent children. The amount of benefits paid in 1971 under these state programs was $5 billion, which indicates the extent to which the program contributes to substaining family life" (p. 137).

Old Age, Survivor's and Disability Insurance grants, unlike the benefits of workman's compensation and unemployment, are intended to provide long-term financial assistance rather than income needs over short term emergencies.

The Social Security Act of 1935 provided old age pensions for persons who had worked for sufficiently long periods of time. By 1939, the Act was changed to provide payments to surviving dependents, including wives and children. Later liberalizations of benefits included (a) in 1956, coverage for workers who became disabled at age 50 or older, their wives and children; (b) in 1960, removing the age-50 eligibility requirements and; (c) in 1965, expanding eligibility from permanent injury to injury disabiling the worker for 12 months or longer. An important additional provision concerns children. If a worker's children become disabled before their 22nd birthday, the children and the mother caring for children can draw benefits throughout the children's lives. Benefits for physically or mentally disabled children are not paid until the eligible worker-parent retires, dies or is himself disabled. (7)

The history of the OASDI program as it affects children is one of increasingly liberal eligibility and increases in coverage. In 1973, over nine out of every ten workers and their dependents were covered by OASDI. On the other hand, this history is also one of a balance between ensuring survival and avoiding dependency. Benefits are set high enough to cushion the financial effects of a wage earner's retirement, death or disability on his surviving children. They are not high enough to (a) provide a standard of living comparable to that before the death, disability or retirement and (b) in "a substantial number of cases" fail to provide a modest but adequate standard of living (34 p. 145).

From the perspective of 200 years, the OASDI program offers income support for almost all the children whose care so troubled the early days of this country: the

Table 1

Social Insurance Program Information

Workman's Compensation

- .first state workman's compensation law adopted in 1911
- .paid for by employee and employer (or employee only) tax
- .administered by states according to state laws
- .benefits paid to workers experiencing work-related total or partial permanent disability and total or partial temporary disability
- .1972 National Commissions on State Workman's Compensation Laws recommended programs be compulsory rather than elective, that coverage include work-related diseases, and benefits increase to two thirds of gross weekly wage
- .in 1971, 3 million disabling work injuries were reported in 1973, $5 billion paid to beneficiaries in cash and medical payments
- .amount of compensation varies from state to state
- .compensation depends on the worker and her/his injury, not on demonstrated need or the configuration of the family
- .most states provide survivors benefits to spouses and dependent children

Unemployment Insurance

- .1932, Wisconsin enacted an unemployment insurance law
- .1935, the Social Security Act set up a Federal unemployment tax paid by the employer
- .programs operated by the state with Federal collection of funds and Federal support for costs of operation administration costs
- .since 1935, coverage has expanded in terms of eligibility and duration of benefits
- .about 35% of wages are replaced for a period averaging up to 26 weeks under most circumstances

  when unemployment nationally exceeds 4.5 percent for three consecutive months, the worker is eligible for up to 13 additional weeks of payments
- .in 1973, 5.3 million workers received unemployment payments
- .in 1973, $4 billion was paid in unemployment benefits under state programs

Table 2

Social Insurance Program Information

Old Age, Survivor's and Disability Insurance

- established in Social Security Act of 1935 for Old age pensions
- liberalized in succeeding amendments to cover surviving dependents, disability, and long-term support for children of workers who became disabled before 22 years of age after worker's own retirement, disability of death
- is intended to provide long-term income maintenance
- rights to aid are vested in surviving children of workers covered, regardless of subsequent marital status of the surviving spouses
- in 1973, the average monthly payment made to a widowed mother with three children or more was $378.00
- payments depend on the earnings of the worker (level of earnings and duration of work) not on the needs of the surviving family
- in 1973, 2.9 million children received benefits because of the death of their father
- in 1973, 1.16 million children received benefits because their father was disabled
- in 1973, 614,000 received benefits because their fathers had reached retirement age
- in 1973, 320,000 children received benefits because of their own disabilities incurred before they were 18
- in 1972, $4.5 billion was granted for child support benefits from the program
- in 1973, 572,000 widowed mothers were receiving benefits to care for children
- 500,000 children between 18 and 22 were continuing their education full-time and continuing to draw benefits. The stipend was $500 million..."greater than the amount of all scholarship money made available through all of the colleges and universities in the United States"
- OASDI is the only Social Security program operated directly by the Federal Government
- Benefits for women workers and their spouses and children are not the same (although payments are the same) as benefits for fathers

widows and orphans of workers, and the families of workers injured on the job or unemployed despite efforts to find work. The fear of many hard-working parents in the Colonies and the young Republic -- leaving their children destitute -- has been reduced or eliminated through the Old Age, Survivors' and Disability Insurance Program.

Money--public assistance

Many children are not covered by the OASDI program. They are illegitimate, their fathers have not worked long enough to be eligible for coverage, unemployment insurance benefits are exhausted, or benefits are below subsistance level for the family. Until 1911, such children would have been sent to orphanages, placed in foster care, or left to wander in the streets. About 1900, the belief that children ought to work to earn their living and contribute to their families income was replaced with the belief that the proper business of childhood was play and schooling, rather than earning a living.

The idea of paying poor but otherwise competent mothers a stipend to care for their own children became law in 1911 in Illinois. Credit for proposing the law goes to Judge Merritt W. Pickney of the Cook County Juvenile Court, who found "himself continually asked to take children from poor but competent mothers and commit them to institutions" (34, p. 155). (8)

The climate for the Illinois law was created earlier. In 1909, for example, the White House Conference urged income maintenance to keep families together. The rising number of children institutions, the high public cost of institionalization, and the continued exposes of conditions in many institutions combined to make "mothers' pensions" an attractive social idea. By 1932, all but three states had mothers' pension laws. Eligibility expanded from the 1911 law to include the children of women who were unmarried, divorced or deserted. As late as 1931, however, when 90,000 women were receiving mothers' pensions, most recipients were white and most were widows. (9)

In 1935, Title IV of the Social Security Act (Aid to

Dependent Children) was passed by Congress. Through Title IV A, subsequently called Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the Federal Government would provide from 50% to 65% of cash grants for support of eligible children and families. In 1962, the Federal share increased to 75% of social casework services to such families and 75% of the cost of income maintenance. The Federal share currently varies between a low of about 35% to a high of almost 80% (26). In 1967, the Act was amended to provide economic rehabilitation of heads of households eligible for AFDC benefits through training and job placement services supported by the Federal government.

One indication of the breadth of child welfare concerns embodied in the Social Security Act is the definition of child welfare services stated in Section 528 of the Act as amended in 1960. It reads as follows:

> "...the term 'child welfare services' means public social services which supplement, or substitute for, parental care and supervision for the purpose of (1) preventing or remedying, or assisting in the solution of problems which may result in the neglect, abuse, exploitation, or delinquency of children, (2) protecting and caring for homeless, dependent, or neglected children, (3) protecting and promoting the welfare of children of working mothers, and (4) otherwise protecting and promoting the welfare of children, including the strengthening of their own homes where possible, or where needed, the provision of adequate care of children away from their homes in foster family homes or day-care or child-care facilities.

In September 1975, 11.3 million persons were receiving AFDC support per 8 million children and their caretakers. An estimated 100 million children have received support from the program since its inception. About 20% of all children under 18 years of age in the United States have received AFDC assistance at some time in their lives. In 1972, AFDC assistance was $7 billion. Between 1960 and 1972, the number of recipients in AFDC climbed from about

3.5 million to over 11 million yearly with concomitant increases in cost. The rise is accounted for primarily by changes in eligibility for the program. Benefits are not provided when the father is home but unemployed; for children living in homes with a mother and a male who is not the biological father; and for children who received AFDC before being placed in foster care. Increases in benefit level and elimination of the one year residence requirements have added to AFDC costs, and to anxiety over possibly uncontrollable spending for social services grants (24, 26, 47). (10)

The history of AFDC has been marked by controversy. Mothers' pensions were initially opposed by social workers who feared public assistance would encourage dependency. Social workers urged that the program be administered by voluntary agencies.

Such agencies, it was argued, could ensure that standards of eligibility were met. Social workers felt they could also provide casework services helping recipients use the money wisely and become self-supporting. Subsequent studies have shown, however, that most AFDC clients see themselves as needing income maintenance not counseling (34, p. 183).

AFDC is among the programs coming under scrutiny as part of general welfare reform. One problem is that families on AFDC in high grant states received almost as much money as poor working families. The working poor regarded the program as discriminatory, because it excluded them for assistance. The program thus provided an incentive to family disruption since the father earning low, intermittent wages could insure a steady improved income for this family by deserting, making the family eligible for AFCD (34, p. 193).

In addition, clients have felt the amount of aid was too low and the eligibility tests demeaning. Social workers have complained that their time is spent establishing eligibility rather than helping families.

Even more serious may be the consequences of the 1967 amendment. This required the states by 1969 to create a single state agency to provide social services to both AFDC (IVA) clients and child welfare, (Title IV-B) clients. Title IVB -- child welfare services -- has no means test and offers a much broader range of services, but is less well financed than Title IV-A AFDC. This possibly saved some administrative cost and offered some greater efficiency of service. The single agency also may have caused some deterioration of public child welfare services, as the needs of 8.000,000 Title IVA AFDC children and their families overwhelmed the needs of 400,000 children receiving for Title IVB child welfare services (Gershenson 1976, personal communication).

> In the balance, Kadushin concludes, "however inadequate the grants, the program has provided a basic income for children who might otherwise have had none, and has made it possible for children to live in their own homes under the care of their own mothers, instead of being divided among relatives, left without supervision, or sent to foster homes" (34, p. 189).

What will happen next is uncertain. On the one hand, the principle of providing an adequate income for children of the working poor and supporting those unable to work seems to have replaced the concept of children earning their way or removal of children from indigent households. On the other hand, there seems to be little enthusiasm for providing an adequate or comfortable income flow for all families with children under 17, regardless of employment or family status. To over-simplify, one policy contrast seems to be investing in the future (policies relating to children) or reforming the present (policies related to parents). As an example, support for child care centers seemed greater in the context of an income maintenance reform bill which required AFDC mothers of children over six to work or lose eligibility than in the context of a child development bill.

Another contrast is whether public policy is to be made primarily in terms of the immediate benefits (direct and indirect support for children in their own right), on the basis of the magnitude and durability of longer-term effects, or by attitudes toward those who bear children but cannot support them without public assistance. Somehow, despite

Table 3

Federal Expenditures for Children and Youth (in billions)*

Category	1960	1976 (est.)
Cash benefits	$2.0	13.8
Health	.4	2.9
Food	.3	2.6
Education	1.1	9.3
Manpower Programs	-	2.5
All other	.2	2.8
Total for children	4.0	33.9
Total budget	92.2	349.4
Percent for children	4%	10%

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*26, p. 27

Table 4

Aid for Families with Dependent Children

.1911 Mother's pension law, Illinois
.1935 Social Security Act, Title IV
.in 1973, in 83% of families receiving AFDC, fathers were alive but absent from the home
.in 1973, AFDC served about 8 million children plus 3 million of their caretakers
.in 1973, about 75% of AFDC families were headed by women
.in 1973, 60% of AFDC families included a child under six
.$7 billion in 1972 for AFDC assistance
.states operate program, decide what components to offer, and set budget levels
.payment requires need/means tests
.benefits vary markedly from state to state
.in high benefits states, payments are close to incomes of working poor
.working income reduces benefits
.AFDC eligible families received other benefits in addition to cash grants: employment assistance, adult basic education, and medical dental care
.the average family received assistance for about 20 months in 1971
.in 1973, about 25% of AFDC received assistance for five years or more
.many, however, terminated because family was no longer eligible
.many cases are terminated because families economic situation improved
.about 15% of mothers on AFDC had parents who had received public assistance

the many policy changes since the 1930's in the direction of providing at least minimum services for children in need, the price of ensuring the welfare of all children in their own right always seems too high for this year.

To summarize

Orphans or the children of destitute parents were placed as indentured servants between the ages of 5 and 18 in the early days of the Republic. Younger children were placed in almshouses for unfortunates of all ages. In a few places, orphans' homes were founded before 1800.

With industralization, the apprenticeship system declined. This, and the abolition of slavery, reduced the attractiveness of indenturing children. Placement in special institutions, orphans' homes or in foster homes became popular reforms. It was hoped these innovations would prevent the abuses of the almshouse, the workhouse, bondage as a servant and packs of children roaming the streets or lying neglected in appalling tenements.

During the late 1800's,foster family care subsidized by the state increased while institutionalization declined. Legal adoption and high parental survival rates reduced the incidence of true orphans. Children with a surviving, but destitute, parent become a large and ever-expanding group. To this population were added children from intact families whose parents suffered extreme disruption. Free or subsidized foster homes provided care for many of these children. In 1930, however, thousands of children were affected by their families' inability to care for them economically. Spurred by the Depression, Congress passed the Social Security Act of 1935 and its subseqeunt amendments. By early 1950, the Old Age and Survivors' Benefits provided a financial floor for the children of millions of older workers or workers threatened by disabilities. The indirect financial assistance of social insurance payments to wage earners affected by work-related injury or unemployment gave still greater protection to the family's ability to care for its children. The Aid to Families with Dependent Children program continues as a major factor of the present policy of economic assistance to children of the poor. More recently, food stamps and the Women's Infants and Childrens Special Nutrition Program offer additional ways of getting enough of the necessities of life to all children.

Within 200 years, concern for the economic well-being of children thus shifted from poor orphans and children of destitute widows to all children of the poor--wed or unwed, "deserving" or "undeserving". In the mid and late 1800's, policy began a parallel shift. The objective changed from enabling children of the poor to survive at almost no cost to the public to more of a search for ways to benefit the child. The search yielded new direct services such as adoption and direct support to stabilize family income in times of crisis. At the same time, however, a possibly irreconcilable conflict, first seen in the statutes of the colonies continues: how to ensure an adequate standard of life for all children in a way which will not create dependencies or pauperize the poor. The dependency creating aspects of foster family care and AFDC, both once hailed as beneficial inventions which could relieve the suffering of children, are being examined. What is meant by "of benefit to the child" is debated, sometimes in language which seems to reinstate "at almost no cost to the public" rather than "for the benefit of the child" as the criterion for decisions.

Readiness to challenge the effectiveness of present welfare policies is great. Which direction the country will take is less clear. Will it be towards direct provision of an adequate financial floor in the lives of all children, regardless of their parents' willingness to work or ability to find it? Will it take the direction of reducing through earlier long-term placements and adoption the proportion of children who may become public charges? Or will it take the road of increased preventive and crisis-management services intended to promote the stability and independence of the family unit while improving somewhat the financial equity accorded children of the poor and near-poor, and of the poor in different states?

2. Childrens' Psychological Welfare: "I thought he was dead when I dumped him in the river" -- mother accused of beating her 4 year old son to the point of death, wrapping

him in canvas weighted with a 20 lb. concrete block, and dumping him in the Potomac River, where the child subsequently died by drowning.

Public policy on children's psychological welfare began with statutes constraining extreme abuse. Concerns have expanded to such problems as those of identity and separation and the intra- and interpersonal problems of parents.

In the Colonial period, records indicate two concerns for the psychological welfare of the child: physical abuse and educational neglect.

- In 1646, a child above 16 who "cursed or smothe" a natural parent would be put to death unless "it can be sufficiently testified that the parents have been unchrisitianly negligent in the education of such children, or so provoked them by extreme and cruel correction that they have been forced thereunto to prevent themselves from death or maiming" (10, p. 38).

- In 1660, according to Massachusetts court records, "Phillip Fowler was presented for abusing his servant, Richard Parker, and although court justified any person in giving meet correction to his servant which the boy deserved, they did not approve of the manner of punishment given in hanging him up by the heels as butchers do beasts for slaughter, and cautioned said Fowler against any kind of punishment. He was ordered to pay costs" (10, p. 124).

- John Walker, 12 years of age, was less fortunate in 1655. The Plymouth Colony investigators viewing the body found, "...a bruise on his left arm, and one of his left hip and one great bruise of his breast; there was the knuckles of one hand and one of his fingers frozen, and also both of his heels frozen, and one of the heels of his flesh was much

> broken . . . and we found three gaules like holes in the hams and we also found that said John was forced to carry a log which was beyond his strength and he endeavoring to do, the log fell upon him, and he being down, had s stripe or two...and he did want sufficient food, and clothing and lodging...therefore in respect of cruelty and hard usage, he died..." (10, p. 124).

Statutes, articles of indenture, and of apprenticeship prohibited such abuse of children. There was little regular inspection, however, to prevent abuses or to ensure that the children receive the training in the reading, writing, and cyphering (required for males only) and moral education required. Some children were treated well, many indifferently and at least some suffered extremes of abuse. Actual killing of a child, as the example of John Walker indicates, was viewed as crime, although the only punishment Walker's master received for his abuse of the child was "burning on the hands" and a fine.

Less is known about the treatment of children in the homes of their biological parents. Until the late 1900's, children were legally regarded as chattels, the property of their parents. An 1880's Wisconsin form for adoption was exactly the legal contract used for transfer of property.

Their neglected or degraded condition could be cause for removal of children of poor. Little was said about public concern for physical or psychological abuse among the steady workers or the well-to-do. Views of child-rearing often encouraged what is regarded today as an authoritarian outlook. Some observers, however, were concerned that children of the young republic were too republican in their manners. Still, at least one visitor, Harriet Martineau, found "the independence and fearlessness of children a perpetual charm" (10, p. 351). In contrast to this picture, Breasted writes,

> "A century ago a parish worker in Manhattan appealed to the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals for help in rescuing a little girl from her stepmother who had been beating her

> and keeping her chained to a bed. There was no other agency, public or private that would help. The case of Mary Ellen who was ultimately recovered (her stepmother was convicted of felonious assault) so stirred the leaders of the ASPCA that they formed a special agency to help children. (9)

The existence of widespread abuse of children by their parents was denied until recently. Recognition of child abuse as a serious problem began in 1946 with the publication by Dr. John Chaffey, a pediatric radiologist, that fractures of long bones and bleeding under the outer membrane surrounding the brain often occur together in infants. He suggested "...the then-novel idea that the common denominator of both types of injury might be accidental or willful trauma, perhaps inflicted by the parents" (32, p. 5). In 1953, Dr. F.N. Silverman reported that physical injury is the most common bone "disease" of infants. In 1962, "when Dr. C. Henry Kempe and his associate first used the phrase, 'the battered child', widespread public and professional attention finally began to focus on the problem" (32, p. 6).

Estimates of the extent of child abuse and neglect vary from 60,000 cases yearly to over 1,000,000. In Violence Against Children, Dr. David Gil and his colleagues estimated that as many as 1,174 child abuse "incidents" might occur each year in California. A public opinion survey of a nationwide sample led to an estimate that between 2.5 million and 4.1 million adults knew personally of a case of child abuse within a one-year period. More recent surveys (1967 and 1968) give figures of about 60,000 reported cases yearly of child abuse, which is considered "almost certainly far below the actual incidence." According to a 1974 estimate, based on an American Humane Association Survey, more than a million American children suffer physical abuse or neglect each year, and at least one in five hundred of the young victims (20,000 children) dies from their mistreatment. (26, p. 83; 28)

On January 31, 1974, almost 100 years after Mary Ellen was rescued, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act became national law. The law defines abuse as "the physical or mental injury, sexual abuse, negligent treatment or maltreatment of a child under eighteen..." The act authorized a National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect to compile information, operate a clearinghouse on programs showing promise of success in prevention, identification and treatment of child abuse, publish training materials, provide technical assistance to public and non-profit agencies, conduct research into the causes of abuse, and study changes in incidence.

The National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect has initiated 16 resource centers, 12 demonstration centers providing comprehensive care, a research program, curriculum development, a national training and technical assistance program, evaluation studies and a national child abuse and neglect incidence study.

Awareness of mutilated, tortured, battered and sexually molested, starved and abused children as a national problem from which our eyes cannot be averted seems to be increasing through these efforts, and those of aroused individuals and child advocacy groups.

It is too early to predict what impact all these will have on the incidence of child abuse and neglect. Nonetheless, the Act represents a turning point in national recognition that public responsibility for the child extends beyond food and shelter, and applies to all families, not only those which are impoverished.

Homemaker Services: Less dramatic than intervention to protect the child from abuse but important in ensuring the psychological welfare of children are services to help the family stay together through a crisis precipitated by parental emotional and physical problems.

- In 1903, the Family Service Bureau of the Association for Improvement of Conditions of the Poor in New York City instituted a "visiting housewives" program.

- In 1923, the Jewish Family Welfare Service of Philadelphia provided housekeeper services to families during the temporary absence of the mother.

.By 1937, the Housekeeping Aid Program was instituted in over 400 Works Progress Administration projects, providing employment and income for women affected by the Depression and homemaker services to children whose mothers were temporarily unable to care for them.

Homemaker services are intended to help care for children in their own homes. Eligibility includes children whose mothers are recovering from a physical or emotional illness, and crises disrupting the home. Such services avoid placing the child in foster care where it is likely that the mother can be helped over the crisis and the family preserved.

With Children's Bureau encouragement, the National Committee on Homemaker Services was formed in 1940. By 1971, the old Committee evolved into the National Council for Homemaker and Home Health Aid Services.

Services generally are offered under public agency auspices in a casework context as part of an overall treatment plan for the family. There are, however, also a great many propietary organizations providing homemaker service, usually without casework.

However, as Kadushin notes: "Homemakers serve a relatively limited number of children. On any one day in 1967 only about 3,700 children were receiving such service and throughout that year a total of about 50,000 children were served. This is less than 1% of the children served by public and voluntary child welfare agencies within a year." (34, p. 300)

The 1962 amendments to the Social Security Act provide 75% of the cost of a homemaker in public assistance programs, where homemaker care can prevent families from becoming dependent. Medicaid provides homemaker funds in cases of disability, and some hospital plans in some areas cover about 50% of the service.

Despite what would seem to be the promise of homemaker care, the numbers of children affected are small compared with AFDC or OASDI. Homemaker services are more readily funded for the aged or chronical ill; only a limited amount is available for the care of children. These services do represent, however, public recognition that sometimes children are too much for an ill or upset adult to cope with.

Funding is a problem: homemaker services are not identified in Federal legislation as is foster care, protective services or family planning.

Mnookin writes:

> Placing a child away from home is often referred to as a 'last resort', but in fact most communities offer few preventive or protective services for children within a home while a family is helped through a crisis. Day care or baby sitting services, along with parental counseling, might make removal unnecessary in a wide variety of circumstances; such services are typically unavailable...for instance, children have been placed in foster care because their parents' home is filthy even though a homemakers' service might have remedied the situation and done so at far less cost to the State. (41, p. 626)

Support services: "She won't do anything, just sits there."

Emotional problems have little respect for family income. Children from homes beset by poverty and children from more advantaged families alike have emotional problems. A variety of support services to help parents maintain the child at home and prevent institutionalization for emotional problems have developed since about 1875.

> .The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1875), Charity Organizations (1880) and the National Association of Catholic Charities (1911) were influential in enactment of legislation providing a variety of social casework and support services to children in their own homes.

.In 1920, the first Child Guidance Clinic began service in Chicago. The clinic was originally designed to coordinate a variety of social, child welfare, and educational organizations to handle the problems of children in a more effective manner (35).

The need for guidance, counseling, and what would today be considered a community mental health program for children intervened. Clinics offering counseling for children and family groups spread fairly widely.

Child welfare crises precipitated by family breakdown appear to be rising as old patterns of extended family and community support disappear and new pressures are placed on families ill-equipped to deal with them. The increasing complexity and rate of change in society, the problems of the inner city, the migrations to cities of Puerto Ricans, blacks from the South and poor whites from Applachia have created psychological and social tensions beyond many families' ability to cope, over and above economic needs. Added to these are crises of divorce and desertion affecting almost all groups in society - and their children.

A common thread among these services is maintaining the child in his or her own home, avoiding foster care, institutionalization or adoption. The services are in support of the family, intended to strengthen rather than replace the child's own home.

The echoes of the 1909 White House Conference thus still are heard in 1976. Yet every day brings reminders that the means so eagerly advocated in 1909 have not brought to reality their dream of happy childhood for all, a spur perhaps to think more clearly and to work still harder on behalf of the children. Family counseling, homemaker and other support services to avert the need for foster care and enhance parental functioning seem to be particularly in short-supply in the face of almost overwhelming short-term but intensive needs due to intra- and interpersonal parental problems.

Day care, which is discussed elsewhere, merits attention as one of the preventive services which can relieve excessive pressures on mothers and tension-wracked families. Independent of the need for day care so parents can work, some safety valve seems to be needed to relieve parents at least briefly from the unremitting, although often immensely rewarding, demands of child rearing. It seems appropriate that about 25% of the money for Title XX of the Social Security Act (about $870 million federal and state dollars) will be spent on day care in 1975 (26, p. 77).

3. Child Labor: "At the time of our inquiry a child was found frozen to death in a delivery wagon. He had worked far into the night and being too tired to go home, lay down in his wagon to sleep until morning."

The labor of children in the 1600s was seen as morally laudable in a society which believed that work for idle hands would be found by the Devil, be the hands young or old. Binding out poor, young children as servants, providing support for them as apprentices or sending illegitimate children to the New World as in bondage relieved the community of the direct cost of their support. It also--and perhaps equally important--prevented yough from growing up wayward in idleness. Child labor was not seen by colonists or citizens of the early republic as an evil. Maintaining able-bodied children "in slothfulness and ignorance" would have been.

Even so eloquent of adovate of children's welfare as Robert Hunter (1904) distinguished between pre-industrial and post-industrial child labor.

> This evil of child labor is a new evil. It was brought into existence by the factory system, as the street child was brought into existence by tenement. It is little more than one hundred years old. I do not mean, of course, that children never worked before the factory made child labor an evil. Children have always worked, but their labor was not an evil, rather it was a good thing in the earlier days...when there was no other method of doing the world's work but by hand and with the aid of the simplest instruments--inexorable necessity

> forced man, woman, and child to labor in order that life might be maintained...And even more than that--the labors of children in the days of the craftsman and artisan were educative, and the processes of learning how to weave, spin, and brew and do work in their fields or home, were not such as to overburden and break down the little workers. (31, p. 224-5)

Toward the end the Eighteenth Century, home craft industries began to expand to small shops. These consisted of children, servants, apprentices, and family within a single household. By 1790, however, changes in the textile industry in old England were mirrored in the establishment of New England factories in which all aspects of manufacture of yarn were completed by machinery. The employees of the first such factory in the United States were "nine boys from poor families in the vicinity..."

> By 1801, the number of children increased from ten to one hundred children of ages from four to ten. They worked in one room where all the machinery was concentrated...Most of the children tended the spindles, removing and attaching the bobbins...(10, p. 146).

The machine and child labor were made for each other. The machine did the heavier, more skilled work, previously requiring adult craftsmen. The remaining light work, often requiring deft little fingers, could be done by children. More yarn could be produced more cheaply by cheap child labor.

Within twenty years, the factory system had spread throughout New England. Children and women comprised 90 percent of the workforce. The early factories tried to attract entire families from rural areas to communities built and owned by companies. Food was obtained at the company owned stores, and often in partial payment of wages.

> Every member of the family above age seven worked in the factory from sunrise to sunset, six days a week...(10, p. 147)

The children's wages were graded by age. In 1816, a child under ten typically received 50 cents for a 72 hour week, although some factories paid as little as 10 cents a week. The wages were not the children's own. Their fathers signed the contract, collected the wages and ensured the arrival of the children at the factory.

Unlike the indenture system, there was nopretence of education: children were paid as laborers, not maintained during their instruction as apprentices. The laws governing apprentices and indentured servants did not apply to the factories. There was no legal recourse in case of abuse.

Many, in the early days of industry, forsaw economic plenty flowing from the machines, coupled with the virtues of diligence among the young workers, and of an endless source of employment for children of the poor:

."...the expense of manufacturing cloth will be lessened from the great share women and children will have in them" (1775)

."By ourselves and employing our own people, we shall deliver them from the curse of idleness..." (1787)

."..women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishments than they otherwise would be..Of the number of persons employed in the cotton manufactories of Great Britain, it is computed that four-sevenths nearly are women and children of whom the greatest proportion are children and many of them of a tender age." (Alexander Hamilton, 1781)

."They come to work at 8 o'clock in the morning and return at 7 in the evening. They are the daughters of decayed families...This is a work of public utility and private advantage." (George Washington, 1789)

At least one observer thought otherwise:

> ."All processes of turning cotton..are here performed by machinery operated..only by children four to ten years old...Our attendant was very eloquent on the usefulness of this manufactury, and the employment supplied to so many poor children. But an eloquence was exerted on the otherwise of the question more commanding than this, which calls us to pity those little creatures. There was a dull dejection in the countenance of all of them".
> (Josiah Quincy, 1801)

During the following century, children of immigrant families poured into the United States. Into the glass factories and mills of the North they went, as children of freed slaves entered the work force of the south. In the coal fields of the Appalachians, children went down into the pits. They rose before dawn, returning after 12 hours of hard, dangerous labor, girls as well as boys. In the factories of the Mid-west the children, their mothers and their fathers rose at 4:30 to the shrilling of the factory whistle and worked, day in and day out, for their mostly short lives. The industrial wealth of the United States was built, according to the records of the 1800s, on the slavery of blacks and children.

Reform was slow, and bitterly resisted.

.The first Sunday School in the United States opened in Rhode Island in 1815 was for factory children, and offered as a private philanthropy by the owner of one of the first and largest textile mills.

.In 1813, Connecticut required the "presidents and directors of all factories to cause children to be taught to read and write and the first four rules of arithmetic".

.In 1836, the State of Massachusetts, in one of the earliest compulsory school attendance laws, permitted children under 15 to work in manufacturing if they had received three months of schooling in the year.

.Other states, prior to the Civil War, placed on the books humane limitations. Children should work no longer than ten hours a day. The minimum age of full time factory employment was to be ten years of age.

These laws, however, were poorly enforced. Horace Mann stated in 1840,

> It is obvious that children of ten, twelve, and fourteen years of age may be steadily worked in our factories, without any schooling, and this cruel deprivation may be preserved for six, eight to ten years. (10, p. 559)

Employers could violate laws, since they were not required to keep school certificates on file. Children could be moved mill to mill; employers could argue they did not know the children's true age. Many parents cooperated in violating the laws. Stories of newsboys, little clerks and laboring children who went from rags to riches were popular in the 1870's. Unpward mobility and climbing the ladder of success through hard work and industry--beginning at age four--were idealized.

> Roswell Gleason (worth $100,000). Come to Dorchester from the country a poor boy. Commenced business without any other capital than a determination to do something and be somebody. Went to work; and all the noise he made was in his tinshops, where he made an uncessant tin, from daylight in the morning to a late hour at night. He succeeded. Such a man must succeed. (10, p. 571)

Slowly, other voices were being heard:

.In 1830, Joseph Tuckerman, a Unitarian minister, argued the child who grew up unable to read, write and cipher, will be dishonest, reckless and criminal.

- In 1832, the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and working Men advocated education for child laborers.

- In 1835, the New York assembly was informed that (children) employed in factories "are required to labor from twelve to fourteen hours each day, being several hours more daily labor than is extracted even from convicts in out of state prison."

Throughout the next 50 years, laws regulating child labor in factories (reducing the hours worked per day, requiring school attendance, increasing the minimum age for full-time employment, and providing some means for enforcement) were enacted. Enforcement slowly increased.

Why was reform so slow? Three forces were working toward the passage (and enforcement) of laws regulating child labor: the public education movement, the labor movement, and social reformers. But the public education and the labor movement were in their infancy before the Civil War. It was not until the late 1800s that these forces grew sufficiently strong to overcome the arguments of employers, manufactures, and poor families who needed the income from their children.

Hunter's 1904 essay, "The Child," describes the children in 1903 "standing ankle-deep in blood in the Chicago stock yards," dropping from exhaustion at the end of a twelve hour day, and employed by the hundreds of thousands in hazardous, heavy industries.

Turning from emotional to economic arguments, Hunter offered four reasons for ending abusive child labor:

- Child labor retards industrial progress because "through cheap labor manufacturers are often able to retain antiqued methods of manufacturing... Greed for profits alone make it necessary for children of six years to carry newly blown glass bottles from hot ovens to a place for cooling".

.the labor of children is constantly in competition with the labor of their elders. "An employer asked me to repeal a section of the Child Labor Law which prohibits children under sixteen working more than nine hours a day. He argued that if we did not, the mercantile establishments would have to have hired children over sixteen which would be a great injustice to those under that age who were then at work."

."actual inquiry shows that the earnings of little children are rarely necessary or adequate to support their families, and their later productivity may be handicapped by early denial of education."

.industries which employ children at cheap labor without living wages are eating up human capital and are thus parasites injuring the children and society: "the national importance of the child labor problem lies in the fact that the working people can be exhausted by parastic employers in the same way that a coal mine is exhausted". (31, p. 249)

The debate continued, turning in the early 1900s in favor of the opponents of child labor as the labor unions and the public education movement gained ground.

.In 1904, the National Child Labor Committee was founded.

.In 1906, John Spargo published, "The Bitter Cry of Children" a rallying point for those opposed to child labor. (53)

.In 1907, Congress authorized an investigation of child and female labor.

.In 1912, the Children's Bureau was established, an agency that for many years was a vital center of national leadership with regard to child labor.

child welfare, prevention of child abuse, and neglect, child care and general advocacy for children.

- In 1916, Congress passed the Keatings-Owen Act, the first Federal child labor law (declared unconstitutional in 1918).
- In 1918, Mississippi enacted a compulsory education law, the last of the states in the union requiring basic education of children.
- In 1919, the Federal government imposed a surtax on employers of child labor (declared unconstitutional in 1922).

Despite the incompatibility of full-time child labor and full-time participation in compulsory education, a strong Federal Child Labor Law was not possible until the Depression made the threat of child competition for low-paying work intolerable to adults. The Fair Labor Standards Act passed by both houses of Congress on June 4, 1938, provided a floor for wages and a ceiling for hours in interstate industries, opened the way for establishment of a national minimum standard for child labor, and established methods of enforcement.

For child labor, the Fair Labor Standards Act set the general minimum age for full-time employment at 16 years of age and identified 18 occupations as too hazardous or detrimental to health to permit any employment of children below 16 years of age. (8) In 1974, the Fair Labor Standards Act was amended to cover children employed in agriculture.

The issue of child labor is not, however, unequivocally settled. On April 19, 1975, the New York Times reported,

> A bill making it legal for children aged 5 to 12 to do field harvest work by hand in areas authorized by the Secretary of Labor outside of school hours was approved yesterday by House migrant labor subcommittee....Senator

> Robert W. Packwood of Oregon said when he cosponsored the Senate version of the bill in February that 10,000 to 14,000 children under 12 customarily picked beans and strawberries in his state...Senator Mark Hatfield said he had received telephone calls from "concerned growers who saw no recourse but to plow under their crops."..

The bill was killed by a vote of 21 to 11 by the full House Labor Committee, in part in response to testimony against the act by the Labor Department, the National Child Labor Committee, the United Farm Workers, and the American Federation of Labor/Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Recently, another argument for review of the child labor laws has been raised: the belief that we unintentionally have erected too great a barrier between children and adults, and restricted opportunities for youth to learn--as children once did in the home crafts shops and on farms--the values, attitudes, and behaviors necessary to make the transition to adulthood.

Beyond 1976: The first child born in the continental United States in this bicentennial year was Holly Elizabeth Ross. Unlike the patriot for whom she was named, little Holly Elizabeth need not fear the almshouse, becoming a small household drudge, or the hardships of mill children. She inherits changes in child welfare policy which reduce the terror of poverty and the threat of exploitation. The names of the women and men who helped bring about these changes may be unknown to her and to the millions of other children whose lives are better for their efforts. She may never know either, of the way in which policies affecting her life are part of sweeping currents of social change in this country, or how much the United States has learned from--as well as contributed to--child welfare in other countries.

She may be aware that there is much unfinished business.

Two major policies--Aid to Families with Dependent Children and foster family care placements--are being reexamined. It seems increasinlgy unacceptable to leave children in the limbo of uncertain allegiance to and from adults. More intensive efforts to strengthen the family's ability to care for children, or to make permanent alternative arrangements are gaining support.

With regard to focus, economic welfare claims most attention, and deservedly so, for many children still have inadequate medical care, shelter, food and clothing. Increasingly, however, concern may focus on the child's psychological welfare. The family is in a period of transition, from extended to nuclear to "reconstituted" and "alternative". Single parent families are rising among the midele income as well as lower income sectors. Divorce rates are increasing. The stresses associated with these changes, for which few adults are prepared, may dominate children's needs in the years to come.

The roles of groups who speak for children are changing. Organizations which were in the forefront of reform have become too often lobbyists for the private or public welfare agencies, unable to criticize radically policies on which their individual and agency members depend. They are, however, well able to play the vital role of mobilizing enough support to help pass legislation.

Government child advocacy agencies have become too often reorganized, fragmented and moved lower and lower in the hierarchy, losing their ability to serve as ombudsmen for children in shaping policies. They are, however, well able to use the administrative networks developed over the past decades to anticipate and implement legislation. Independent citizens' lobbies, who represent neither the child welfare profession nor the established agencies may well play the most critical role (in both senses of the term) in influencing child welfare in the next decades. Major reforms in child welfare, as in other areas, are likely to come from without the present child serving professions than from within; thus the 1970's rise of citizens' lobbies and independent policy analyses groups may be catalytic for child welfare as well as for energy and material resources policies.

How decisions may be made seems clearer than what the decisions will be. Changes are more likely to be offered as a better alternative among available choices than as revealed truth. Emotions are still engaged by neglected, abused, lonely, and mistreated children; actions, on the experience of two hundred years, follow analyses of competing alternatives, and the strength of competing demands.

Perhaps too much so: the limosines of foreign policy, the tractors of agricultural policy, the tanks of military policy, and bicycles of energy, environmental and economic policy make heavy traffic on the road to Capitol Hill. Yet these demands in various forms have been competing for attention since the foundation of the Republic. Surely a country which has found time in the past to listen to the voices of children and their advocates can find the time in the future. Surely, too, the leaders of today and tomorrow will have the grit of Grace Abbott, Director of the U.S. Children's Bureau from 1921 to 1934, who wrote in 1934:

> It seems to me I stand on the sidewalk watching (the road to Capitol Hill) become more congested and more difficult, and then, because the responsibility is mine and I must, I take a very firm hold on the handles of the baby carriage and I wheel it into the traffic.

FOOTNOTES

1. To Charles Gershenson, Richard Orton, Ann Shyne and Kurt Snapper, my deepest thanks for their painstaking critiques of the first draft. To Alfred Kadushin, author of Child Welfare Services (1974) and Robert Bremner, editor of Children and Youth in America (1970-71) on which I have drawn almost to the point of plagiarism, all concerned with children may be indebted for their exhaustive and analytic studies.

2. For example, many of what were later regarded as problems with orphan asylums and mothers' pensions were fairly accurately predicted by early skeptics. These seemed to be denied rather than dealt with by at least some advocates (see, e.g., 10). Perhaps the enthusiasms for an idea required to develop a large enough coalition to support a reform makes friendly criticism seem oxymoronic and discussion of guiding assumptions, like nay-saying.

3. For example, closing down all group care facilities for the emotionally, physically or mentally handicapped may leave some children for whom institutionalization is the best present alternative worse off than they were before. For these children, improving institutions may be the better course.

4. The focus is on child welfare policy, rather than on practice, organizations or individuals. None the less, the paper would be incomplete without reference to such organizations as the United States Children's Bureau (1912) and the Child Welfare League of America, (1920) both founded as the result of recommendations of the first White House Conference on Children of 1909. The Association of State Offices of Early Child Development (1973), the Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project (1973) and the National Council or Organizations for Children and Youth are among the scores of children's advocacy groups that have joined the Children's Bureau and the League since 1920. (See 16, 17, 18, 26).

5. As Dr. Gershenson (personal communication) has pointed out, the discussion is "descriptive rather than analytical, and blurs the distinction between the welfare of children (health, education, labor, socialization, and family life) and child welfare services. The former is a goal for all children and the latter is a fragment of a total process to achieve the goal for a selected group of children." This book as a whole speaks to the welfare of children; the discussion in this chapter to some aspects of the area where concern for welfare services for some children overlaps with changes in what is regarded as necessary for the welfare of all children.

6. This is another instance of child welfare policy shifting with broader social, economic and political winds. Between 1900 and 1970, for almost all children completing high school rather than going to work full-time became the norm; religious and social attitudes no longer placed work for its own sake in the center of values; and public direct and indirect subsidies for adults became more widespread. Individual rights, rather than social responsibilities, became a more dominant theme, influencing child welfare and adult welfare policies.

7. Not a sexist slip. The Social Security Act is being changed to provide the same benefits for the workers and their families, regardless of the sex of the worker and the sex of her/his survivors. Differential benefits still in the law, require equal payment into the system by male and female workers but do not provide equal benefits from the system for survivors of female workers.

8. The development of the juvenile court is discussed in a separate chapter. Otherwise, more attention would be given to it, because of its' recognition of children as a special group requiring different handling.

9. Special attention has obviously not been given in this chapter to child welfare policies affecting important subgroups of children. Billingsley and Giovannoni

(1972) are an excellent source for information in Black children and American child welfare. Similar book-length analysis of child welfare for Spanish-surnamed, Native American, and other ethnic groups were not found, nor could I locate major works on child welfare policy toward girls, religious subgroups or other children where differential treatment, if any, would be of considerable policy interest.

10. Spending for Social Services grants escalated from $354 million in fiscal 1969 to $1.69 billion in fiscal 1972. About 25% of this apparently went to child foster care and 15% for day care, and the rest was hard to account for exactly. Concern for this size and growth rate led to a 1972 Congressional ceiling of $2.5 billion and to policy reassessments of the Social Service grants strategy and analyses of the reasons for the almost "uncontrollable" spending. Since at least 40% of these Federal social service billions are spent on child welfare, the history of this grants-to-the-States explosion and public reaction to it seem to be a major influence on contemporary child welfare policy. Nevertheless, under the Social Security Amendments of 1974 which were enacted in January 1975 and took effect October 1975, a new section was created. Title XX covers a broad range of social services including services to children and families. The title continues the trend to expanded eligibility, broader purposes, and wider coverage of needed: for example, under the new law, up to 50% of each states' federal funds for services (up to that $2.5 billion ceiling) may be used for children and others who need such services but do not receive AFDC, SSI or Medicaid.

11. The Child Welfare League of America notes,...."a major issue is [illegible] a well structured system of services for children and families, available as needed without financial eligibility requirements....We see Title IVB (child welfare and protective services for children) as an important statement of Congressional intent that services be available as needed. The 1962 Amendments to the Social Security Act seem to point to greater

availability and better integration of services, but recent trends have been in the opposite direction, with the methods of funding reinforcing fragmentation of services." (Shyne and Felton, personal communication).

12. How much has changed, and how much of the change is progress are matters of considerable debate. From some perspectives, little has changed in child welfare policy and that not necessarily for the better. One observer, for example, writes "Both goals and processes of child welfare have changed over the past 200 years, but at a snail pace when compared with economic development, technological development, knowledge expansion, changes in family structure, and changes in human services. The image of progress is one of form rather than substance: the basic premise has remained the same ... The family has failed the child rather than the contextual circumstances shaped by the political, economic, social and religious values and policies. It is David Gil who observed that it is functional for our society to abuse and neglect children." (personal communication)

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Chapter VI

Two Hundred Years of Children's Recreation

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A complete history of children's recreation in the United States has yet to be written. Little is recorded about the recreational activities of children prior to the beginning of the playground and settlement movements in the latter part of the 19th century. However, old prints and lithographs provide sketches of what children did when they "went out to play" in the early days of our country. It can be assumed that most children then, as now, exploited the environment for the enjoyment it proffered. In his autobiography, Benjamin Franklin wrote, "....living near the water I was much in it, learnt early to swim well and to manage boats." We read of the hunting and fishing enjoyed by boys with their fathers, after provision had been made for the sustenance of the family.

To get some sense of children's recreation in the United States, it is necessary to draw on developments in many different movements: the playground movement; the public parks and recreation movement; the camping movement; the development of national voluntary youth serving organizations; the development of neighborhood organizations and groups, such as settlements and church groups; and the play movement, the study and use of play activities in many different fields such as mental health, education, and child development. Most of these movements are of more recent history and each has had an impact on children's recreation. But first, it is helpful to get an idea of what is incorporated in the concept of recreation and to present some early evidence of thoughts and practices of leisure time, work and recreation.

GENERAL VIEWS OF RECREATION

Of the many characteristics attributed to recreation, those of particular significance for children are spontaneity, enjoyment and freedom, freedom to move in and out of an activity and to decide what to do, be it sitting and watching or running and jumping, or building cities in a sand box, or climbing a tree or a fire escape. Recreation today is generally viewed as experiences and activities embarked upon freely, with no outside pressure. The activities are undertaken for the pleasure they provide, the doing of them, with no other reward anticipated. They encourage and support self-expression and creativity. For many in the field today, recreation is necessary for a full, rich and abundant life.

For young children, recreation and play have been used synonomously, with early recognition, especially by students of children, that play frequently is their work. When a child is engaged in an activity it is difficult to define it as "work" or as play and recreation. The Children's Charter of the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection proclaimed "...with the young child his work is his play and his play is his work."

The crucial nature of play for children, if not for all persons has come to be accepted by persons in recreation. They emphasize the fact that different activities contribute to the development and satisfaction of various facets of a child's being, physical and biological, emotional and psychological, intellectual and cognitive, social, ethical, and spiritual. They have appreciated that climbing and swinging not only exercise muscles and contribute to children's ability to gauge distances, but also that conquering such activities could reinforce a child's estimate of his/her capabilities, the sense of being a very unique entity. It has been acknowledged that play allows a child to test out the attributes of different activities, roles and relationships allowed or required, and to practice them, to master them or to discard them. Through the decades it has been agreed that play allows for exploration and adventure, physical exercise and contemplation; it has provided for make-believe and fantasy, invention and improvisation, as well as learning to play games which have prescribed rules. Today it is believed that through play a young child can gain a sense of self and others and of the world around. Such views have been potent forces in the development of leisure time activities and recreational programs for children and youth.

LEISURE TIME, WORK AND RECREATION

In the early days, recreation, as other activities, appears to have been a family affair. The first relaxation enjoyed by settlers after wrestling a living from the wilderness was the time spent in neighborly conversation following church meetings, and the children were there too. It can be assumed that children enjoyed the accomplishments of travelling jugglers, tight rope walkers, and keepers of wild animals, as well as their elders. The celebration of holidays were family affairs. With it all, however, the early days were demanding of the energies and time of children as well as older persons.

The world of children of the settlers, the early merchants and tradesmen, the pioneers and frontiersmen and the immigrants was dominated by the demands of survival. Anyone in a family capable of work had to work, if the family were to survive. In the early settlements, along the Atlantic seaboard, everyone in the settlement had to work to avoid starvation and disease, constant menaces. Idleness could not be tolerated. The power of the law and religion, the courts and the church, combined to support work and to banish idleness, to the end that the colonies could survive. This was as true in Virginia as in Massachusetts, where the Puritan influence dominated. In 1619 Virginia's assembly decreed that any person found idle should be bound over to compulsory work. Gambling with dice and cards was prohibited; drinking was strictly regulated; "...penalties for excess in apparel" were provided and Sabbath observance was rigidly enforced. Court records show that offenses against the laws were dealt with severely. (7)

In Massachusetts, bans on Sunday labor, travel and recreation included a ban on "....all unnecessary and unseaonable walking in the streets and fields." However, this ban was not strictly enforced for children over seven. This implies that it was about at this age that children were out by themselves, not with families. The General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony hastened to give warning that this leniency by no means meant that "We approve of younger children in evil."

In time, idleness, in and of itself, unrelated to the necessity of work to survive, came to be viewed as evil, not only by churches, but by persons committed to the development of the nation. The activities enjoyed in idle or leisure time, if nonproductive, also were not acceptable. Distracting amusements were frowned upon and religion provided strong moral sanction for every law suppressing amusements.

It was held that frivolity could consume not only excess energy, but energy which might be better spent for the improvement or advancement of self and the community. In 1750, John Adams, the future President of the United States, wrote in his diary as he went to college: "Let no trifling diversion or amusement...no girl, no gun, no cards, no flutes, no violins, no dress, no tobacco, no laziness, decoy you from your books." Benjamin Franklin advised a young tradesman: "...remember that time is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labor, and goes abroad or sits idle on half of that day, though he spends but six-pence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon that the only expense; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides." (3)

Child Labor

Idleness was not tolerated for anyone, including children, nor were the activities which might divert a person from work. It may be necessary to remind ourselves that children, some as young as 4 years of age, were an integral part of the work force of a family in the 18th and 19th centuries. Children made their contributions on the farm, in the home, in the shops and later in factories. Views about work and idleness and the use of leisure time were as applicable to children of 6 and 16 as to persons of 26 or 56 years of age.

It was decreed in the province of Pennsylvania that all children on reaching the age of 12 years, should be taught some trade or skill "...to the end that none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they became poor, may not want..." (3)

A Rhode Island yarn factory in 1801 employed 100 children ranging in age from 4 - 10. It is reported that in 1816, of 100,000 employees in a New England yarn mill, 24,000 were boys under 17 years and 66,000 were women and girls, for a total of 90% of the mill's labor force. Finally, one measure of the value of the machinery produced for use in the mills in the early 19th century was the degree to which it could be managed by 5-10 year old children.

The relationship of children to work required to survive or to get ahead, plus religious and secular attitudes towards idleness and amusements, have been major factors influencing attitudes toward children's recreation throughout the decades.

In the early 19th century long hours consumed in work left little time for children, thus employed, for either school or play. As education became more universal, it also became the child's work. The economically nonproductive time spent in school was legitimate; the skills learned: reading, writing, and arithmetic, were needed for a child to become increasingly useful and to get ahead in an industrial society. However, as children moved out of their families into school or to nonfamily controlled industries and occupations, they became subject to other influences and to other controls of the use of their time.

RECREATION REMAINS A FAMILY AFFAIR

Basically the family remained the guardian of the child's learning, socialization and ethical training. What the child learned, the opportunities provided for play and recreation, and the moral precepts taught, have depended on the economic, social, educational and ethnic background of the family as well as on its religious persuasion and geographic location. The recreational opportunities and activities of children differed according to differences in their families, whether they were plantation owners or farmers or slaves in Virginia or Kansas, or whether they were entrepreneurs or factory workers in New York, Chicago, Boston, or Los Angeles, or were frontier families, ranchers and pioneers in the midwest, southwest, or northwest. Whatever, the status of a family it controlled the time and play of the children. The community and public concern for recreation and the movements to provide recreationaly opportunities for children and youth emerged to a great extent, as a result of industralization.

COMMUNITY CONCERNS--NATIONAL VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Community concern for the play of children and the leisure time of young people grew with the advance of mills and factories in the mid-nineteenth century. The aim of concerned citizens was to counteract the unhealthy and degenerating conditions which accompanied the crowding and dirt generated by burgeoning sprawling industries.

The earliest recreation came from voluntary supported organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) Among the first to act was the YWCA of Philadelphia which had numerous concerns for the conditions in which young girls in industry found themselves. The YWCA recruited members from the population of young women, thirteen to seventeen years of age, working long hours under poor conditions in the factories. Beginning in 1874, this YWCA provided young women with housing and decent recreation plus instruction in ways to improve working conditions through collective action. In addition to the many in-town recreational opportunities, the YWCA also offered the young girls a week in Atlantic City where they could improve their health with a vacation in the sun and bathing in the ocean. This development is viewed as the start of the camping movement, although at the time, the week's vacation was just one of the YWCA's programs for young working women.

The YMCA was not far behind in expressing concern for the plight of the young working man. In 1885, affluent citizens initiated a Christian Association for young men who were drawn to the cities and to the factories and were prey to corrupting temptations. Facilities, programs and leadership for a variety of physical, cultural and social activities were provided. Because of the threat of tuberculosis and other diseases prevalent in the cities, the YMCA, introduced week long vacations in the mountains for young men. Relaxation and recreation in the out-of-doors thus became part of planned programs promoting health care and physical education.

Settlement Houses were another form of addressing the recreational needs of children and youth and their families. Settlements were so called because persons concerned with the deprivation and lack of opportunity of those living in crowded slums opened up their homes to the neighborhood residents. In these homes were found not only many recreational opportunities, but space to do things not afforded by the limited space in flats, such as celebrating anniversaries or studying by themselves.

Jane Addams in 1889 established Hull-House in Chicago, one of the first settlement houses in the United States. Julia Lathrop, the first Chief of the Children's Bureau in 1912, was one of Jane Addams' colleagues at Hull-House. In a relatively short time, through gifts or land and money, the program at Hull-House expanded to include a working girls home, a day nursery, a Labor Museum, a Boy's Club, a Little Theatre, music instruction, arts and crafts workshops, a model playground and many other activities.

These social centers, such as Hull-House, enabled the people from outside the neighborhoods to learn first hand of the life in the neighborhod and to use this information to spotlight needed changes. In 1895, the center issued its first publication, "Hull House Maps and Papers", which described the living conditions of the nineteen different nationalities packed into the ward in which Hull-House was located. In 1902 "Democracy and Social Ethics" was published, a collection of Miss Addams' articles on the major human problems she observed around this settlement. This publication was followed in 1909 with "The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets", focusing attention on the extent and nature of juvenile delinquency as experienced in the Hull-House area. Using life in the community as a point of departure, Miss Addams and her colleagues fought for legislation and action to improve the working and living conditions, not only for the residents of the neighborhood, but for working people throughout the city, state and nation. Settlements had a profound influence on the playground and recreation movement in this country.

These early voluntary movements in urban communities, settlements and national youth programs, represented a mix of philosophies and social goals that also included development of recreation. The programs were designed for the voluntary involvement of young people and were viewed as supplementing the family. For younger children they offered encouragement and protection as the children moved to self-sufficiency and maturity.

Whether or not a child or a young person lived with his/her family, the youth serving organizations have stood for values and conduct deemed constant with those of families. Both the basically sectarian organizations, such as the Y's, and the nonsectarian organizations, have had guiding philosophies and codes of behavior. Their early experiences with such activities as camping and indoor programs proved of benefit to others who organized similar programs for children and youth. The experienced organizations shared their understanding of building and property management, community involvement in planning, and leadership training, particularly in the area of the recruiting, training and supervision of part-time staff. The YMCA early established training programs for professional staff at Springfield College, in Massachusetts and George Williams College in Chicago. Recreation was an integral part of the training curricula.

Among the nonsectarian, national voluntary youth organizations which have been active through the years are the Boys Clubs of America founded in 1906, the Camp Fire

Girls founded in 1910 and the Girls Scouts in 1912.

While maintaining their basic philosophies and purposes, these organizations have modified their design and emphases according to the change in the times. The 1972 Encyclopedia of Associations contains the following descriptions of purposes:

> Boys Clubs of America - "To promote the health, social, education, vocational and character devellopment of boys."
>
> Camp Fire Girls - "Organized in four age divisions: Blue Birds (age 6-8) take part in creative play, simple service, and social activities within the group and immediate community; Camp Fire Girls (age 9-11) participate in a program of seven crafts (home, outdoors, creative arts, frontiers, business, sports and games, and citizenship); Junior Hi Camp Fire Girls (ages 12-13) take part in more advanced activities ranging from art to zoology; Horizon Club, Camp Fire Girls (14 and older) stress civic and community service projects, coed activities, and career opportunities."
>
> Girls Scouts - "...inspiring girls with the highest ideals of character, conduct, patriotism, and service that they may become happy and resourceful citizens."
>
> Boy Scouts - "...an educational program for the character development, citizenship training, and mental physical fitness of boys."

A description of the Boy Scouts in a 1929 (18) publication serves to illustrate the fact that these programs, while modifying structure and emphases through the years, have remained constant in their commitment to a code of behavior and belief in peer group activity and self-government: "The Boy Scouts of America is a movement for character building and citizenship training in boys from 12-18 years ...it develops sturdy bodies, alert minds, self-reliance and resourcefulness. Emphasis is placed also on developing boy leadership." In February 1925 there were over 200,000 boys and men members. In 1972 the membership was reported well over 6,000,000 with almost 2,500,000 Cub Scouts aged 8-10. The innovation of the Cub Scouts as well as the Brownies of the Girl Scouts, illustrates changes made in programs to be responsive to changes in the times, in this instance opening membership to younger children and constructing programs correspondingly appropriate.

PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION MOVEMENT

The early founders of the recreation movement were intent on seeing that children had safe places in which to play, outside of their homes and the supervision of their families. Furthermore, there was concern that children have opportunities for "wholesome recreation" to counteract the temptations of the streets and idleness. From the early days of children's recreation there has been a refrain of providing for the "constructive use of leisure time". Soon after initial interest was shown in providing playgrounds for young children during the summer months, attention expanded to caring for the activities of school-age children throughout the year.

Almost from the outset groups in communities felt keenly that recreation for children was useful in the prevention of juvenile delinquency. It was early believed that the absence of wholesome recreational opportunities resulted in "unfortunate moral conditions." To many citizens the constructive use of leisure time was thought to be as essential to the survival of the community as it was necessary for physical survival in the early days of the settlers. It was believed that "...the character of the amusements which occupy the leisure hours of a people may change profoundly not only the habits of the individual but the character of the whole people."

The provision in 1885 of the Boston Sand Garden, several large sand piles placed in the yard of the Children's Mission on Parmeter Street in Boston explicitly for the use of children, is generally recognized as the beginning of the playground movement in the United States.

This opportunity allowed children to play three days a week during the summer under the guidance of a neighborhood woman. Thus were established three major ingredients which have since influenced recreational developments: the provision of space, materials and equipment, and leadership. While the national voluntary youth organizations concentrated on providing their programs with the cooperation of community groups, such as churches, schools and neighborhood centers, public recreation concentrated on the provision of space, equipment and leadership to meet the recreational needs of not only children and young persons but of all the people living near playgrounds and recreation centers. The thrust for the first quarter century and longer of the playground and recreation movement was to demonstrate the values of play with the guidance of adults in well equipped safe places, to provide year round recreational opportunities for everyone, adults as well as children, and to secure public provision of such playground and recreational opportunities.

For the purpose of tracing developments in the public provision of recreation for children selected significant dates follow:

1871	Residents of Brookline, Massachusetts, approved the purchase of land "for public commons or playgrounds" but the properties acquired were not developed for several years.
1885	The Boston Sand Garden created. By 1887 ten of these play centers were in operation in Boston. The American Physical Education Association was established. It emphasized the significance of recreation in physical training and highlighted the necessity of trained leaders.
1888	The New York City playground law provided $1,000,000 for the acquisition of lands for playgrounds and parks.
1889	The Charles River Outdoor Gymnasium for men and boys was established in Boston.

1889 - 1891 Two model playgrounds were established in New York City.

1892 A model playground was established at Hull-House, Chicago. In addition to several sand boxes, it contained gymnastic apparatus, space and equipment for handball and indoor games. Thus models of year round services were created for older children as well as younger ones.

1894 All of the Boston Sand Gardens and playgrounds became located on school property. Operating funds were provided by the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association until 1899, when the City Council appropriated $3,000 toward the expenses. Emphasis was on increased use of school properties and the public assumption of responsibility for recreation. Leadership of voluntary groups was not only to get recreational services started, but to establish them as rights of all citizesn.

The New England Association of Park Superintendents, now the American Institute of Park Executives, was established. VanDoren and Hodges in their chronology of the growth of American's parks and recreational opportunities, indicate that in the early days the major interest of the Association was to maintain parks as part of the "City Beautiful Movement" to be enjoyed by the upper and middle classes.

1898 Three of the Boston Playgrounds were designated for boys, twelve to fifteen years of age, and were equipped with some gymnastic apparatus. This marked a further move toward serving older children.

1903 Chicago passed a $5,000,000 bond issue to acquire and develop small parks for recreation in the crowded neighborhoods of south Chicago. This was a tremendous victory for the playground movement since a number of powerful forces opposed the move as a waste of public funds. Ten parcels of land were purchased in 1904 and by 1905 ten neighborhood parks and community recreation centers were in operation. Thus, recreational opportunities became increasingly accessible to people in crowded areas. It should be noted that highly qualified people were employed to staff these operations, thus continuing to recognize the essential nature of personnel.

1904 A Board of Playground Commissioners was established in Los Angeles. This Board, separate from both the city government and the school system, was responsible for all playgrounds. It hired a Superintendent of Recreation in 1905 and by this action established recreation as a public responsibility in its own right.

1906 The Playground Association of America was organized in Washington, D.C., by early leaders in the playground and recreation movement, such as Jane Addams of Hull-House and Dr. Luther H. Gulick, the first President of the Playground Association of America. These pioneers in establishing voluntary movements, were also the pioneers in promoting public recreation for children. For example, Dr. Gulick, with his wife, founded the Camp Fire Girls in 1910. At about the same time, he also organized the Public Athletic League in New York City to provide sports for all boys. These persons were deeply committed to the belief that all children, especially those in urban areas, should have the opportunity to profit from supervised recreational and organized group activities.

1907 Rochester, New York appropriated money to demonstrate the use of schools as community recreation centers. While a number of cities erected buildings to serve as social centers, Rochester successfully demonstrated the utility of school buildings as "social and civic centers."

The use of school facilities as community centers spread rapidly. One of the better known developments was the establishment of a playground and community center program by the school authorities in Milwaukee, using a tax levy authorized for that purpose by the Wisconsin Legislature in 1911.

1910 Joseph Lee, often referred to as the "Father of the American Playgrounds," became President of the Playground Association of America; Howard Braucher became Executive Director of the Association. Both exerted influence on the movement for decades.

1911 New Jersey passed state enabling legislation which authorized local governments to provide recreation programs. During the following years there was a growing tendency in many states and cities to levy taxes to procure recreation facilities, thus public assumption of responsibility grew. Also, emphasis on the quality of personnel continued. In her 1915 report, the Chief of the Children's Bureau noted "all public recreation must be developed and maintained with experts in charge, if it

> is to serve the need for healthful pleasure and for physical development."

Side by side with emphasis on expanding publicly supported recreational opportunities for healthy physical, social and moral development of children, were community efforts to protect children from certain commercial recreation deemed harmful. Censorship of movies and licensing of dance halls occupied the attention of those wanting to protect children against "moral injury." The Chief of the Children's Bureau stated in her 1914 report that the "....community has responsbility for the conduct of the public dance hall and other places of amusement.... Almost greater than the need to standardize the provision for recreation made by a community is the need to determine an effective way to standardize commercial recreations offered children." Correspondence received by the Children's Bureau during these years indicated widespread interest in "practical methods of furnishing community recreation and safeguarding commercial recreation."

By the first World War the recreation center was conceived virtually as it exists today, to provide social, educational, cultural and civic activities to meet the needs and interests of the total population in the surrounding neighborhoods. A variety of facilities were provided for all persons living nearby, craft centers, libraries, music schools, club rooms, game rooms, auditoriums which could serve as theatres as well as places for civic meetings, gymnasiums and playing fields.

In 1915 the Children's Bureau issued two pamphlets, one on principles of a sound recreational policy for any community and the other on plans for the effective construction and use of school playgrounds. The following year, the then United States Bureau of Education, established a Division for Community Organization to furnish expert assistance in developing the use of public schools as community centers. The entry of the United States into World War I provided the need and opportunity for further development of recreation activities and organizations.

FIRST WORLD WAR

The first World War underscored the health needs of servicemen, thus stimulating still greater emphasis on physical education in recreation as well as in schools. Furthermore, the activity to entertain men in camps and adjacent communities created an upsurge in the organization of community groups to provide recreation for servicemen. At the end of the War these groups turned their attention to the provision of recreation for the entire community.

The War which was fought "to make the world safe for democracy" focused attention on living democracy at home. Team play was emphasized in recreational activities and the values of group experience utilized for increasing members' respect for each other and for learning self-government. The Children's Bureau suggested in its Standards of Child Welfare issued after the War, that children's groups of 8 to 12 members should be formed with the leader selected from within the groups. Further, the groups should be responsible for their own life and activity. These same standards continued to emphasize the positions that provision of "suitable" recreational opportunities for children was a public responsibility as was the assumption of responsibility "for the decency of commercial entertainment."

The year 1919, a decade after the first White House Conference on Children, was designated as the National Children's Year. Recreation was one of the three areas of concentration. During 1918, in preparation for Children's Year, citizen committees were organized all over the country to further increase public interest in healthy play, particularly of older children who might be attracted by commercial recreation. The response of communities evidenced in requests for materials and consultation, led the Chief of the Children's Bureau to conclude in her annual report for the year that, "clean amusement and vigorous outdoor play have been more widely understood as indispensable factors in giving children and young people their rightful chance, both physically and morally." Among the eight measures promoted for community follow-up of the Children's Year was, "Public provision for wholesome play and recreation, under trained leadership, and supervision of commercial establishments." Guides for the achievement of these were provided.

Guidance to local communities as they developed recreational programs was provided not only by Federal agencies but by national organizations, and as the Playground and Recreation Association. Skill in neighborhood organization had been early developed by settlements who shared their expertise particularly as it related to the establishment of playgrounds and other programs of neighborhood recreation. Neighborhood residents joined in the direction of the settlement's policies and programs, adding their perspective and judgment to those from persons outside the neighborhood who also guaranteed the financing of the enterprises.

To draw the people in a community together as a community became the aim of staffs in publicly supported recreation centers. At this time, Centers were visualized as "centers of democracy" in which all persons in the neighborhood could enjoy activitiestogether, not as adults, or boys or girls of different races and nationalities but as members of the community. In addition to involving community persons in deciding on programs and assisting in the management of the centers, mass events were promoted. Celebrations and festivals were organized for the enjoyment of all. However, these centers were not able to achieve the vitality or force in the community visualized and desired by the staffs.

EMPHASES IN POST WORLD WAR I

For some time after the war recreation leaders interested in children concerned themselves with special populations, such as blind children, girls and women, and children in rural areas.

Bulletins describing appropriate activities for blind infants and children were issued by the Children's Bureau and special training was provided for leaders who might work with them.

Persons with special interest in girls continued to reach out to girls in industry, scheduling activities at convenient times.

Concern for the social isolation of farm children characterized the work of the Children's Bureau, as well as county and state recreation leaders. The 4-H Clubs of the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, while designed to train young persons in agricultural occupations, soon included recreation for young members. Also, leaders beginning to understand the needs of the "total child," recognized the potential of 4-H Clubs for the social, physical and ethical development of children, as well as for providing vocational training.

Practical questions confronting recreation directors in urban programs included such matters as the use of girls and boys as leaders in children's programs on playgrounds and in centers, the question of contests and the use of awards, charging for activities, and budget planning and cost accounting. Full time staff were constantly interpreting the need for recreation and why public funds should be spent "to teach children how to play."

Special impetus was given to camping which serves many objectives, from building strong bodies to learning respect and love of nature. In the 1920's settlements, especially, promoted camping as a mjaor means for increasing the "Americanization" of immigrant children. For all children, resident camping, through group living in the out-of-doors, necessitated cooperation and learning to respect the ways and values of persons from different backgrounds. Self-confidence is gained with increased ability to survive in the out-of-doors. As camp programs took advantage of their natural surrounding, campers discover some of the wonders and mysteries of nature and become acquainted with the folklore of pioneers and frontiersmen as well as with the culture of Indians. Overnight camping away from resident camps has been even more adventureous and has led to trip camping and back-packing so popular in the 70's.

Various Professions in Recreation

In the tradition of voluntary stimulation and support of public recreation, in 1924 a privately funded National Conference on Outdoor Recreation brought together recreation leaders and park planners and superintendents. The purpose was to develop a national recreation policy. The cooperation engendered by the Conference resulted in a manual on the development, design, maintenance and financing of parks and playgrounds. Thus, municipally supported recreation became more clearly identified with park systems and the management of properties and facilties. The development and special use of recreational activities for children seemed to be carried more by other professions, such as educators, social workers, and therapists.

Many professions have used knowledge and skill in recreational activities to accomplish the purposes of the service of their professions, while public recreation by and large has concentrated on providing the means by which persons can enjoy themselves, particularly in the out-of-doors.

In 1926, the National Recreation School was established, which not only evidenced the priority ascribed to the quality of recreation leadership, but also firmly identified such leasership as a vocation in its own right. Furthermore, recreation leadership and physical education became a sequence offered in colleges.

For the most part personnel employed year round in recreation had to manage properties as well as guide the development of programs. Skills utilized in such administration were compatable with those of municipal and county park directors and superintendents and included such subjects as administration; budgeting and financial management; program development and management; selection, training and supervision of personnel and public relations.

Specialists in different activities became trained in their particular area of interest, such as drama, music, sports and games, and arts and crafts. These specialists in turn trained recreation leaders and members of groups in their particular skills. In addition, specialists planned and conducted neighborhood and community-wide programs.

Teachers and social workers, early interested in the growth potential for children of participation in physical, social and cultural activities learned skills in such activities as well as in guidance of group participation and interaction. Their emphasis was on the significance of the experience for participants perhaps more so than to development of skill in the activity.

The major developments and emphases in children's recreation for the first forty years of its history were summarized in part by the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Among the ninteen provisions of the Children's Charter adopted by that Conference four were on recreation. They provided:

1. Wholesome physical and mental recreation for every child from birth through adolescence, with teachers and leaders, adequately trained;
2. Provision by communities for every child safe and wholesome places for play and recreation, and social and cultural opportunities;
3. Extension to rural families social, recreational and cultural facilities; and
4. Extension and development of the voluntary youth organizations for the benefit of all children "to return to them those interests of which modern life tends to cheat children."

THE DEPRESSION YEARS

The depression of the 1930's advanced the construction of recreational facilities dramatically. Within the first two years of its operation, the Civilian Conservation Corps, financed with Federal emergency funds to provide employment especially for young men, completed 20,000 construction projects. Included were 131 stadiums, 532 community centers and innumerable wading pools. In addition, play streets were cleaned up as were vacant lots and dump heaps. Not only did additional space for play become available but public hygiene was improved.

Emergency relief funds were also used to train recreation leaders for both public and voluntary agencies. Recreational personnel almost doubled. The services provided by this additional personnel supplemented existing programs, or made it possible to expand them. Also, new services were created. The emergency programs continued throughout the decade, tapering off as the economy improved and as regular resources were able to absorb at least some of the expanded services. The second World War, early in the 1940's, again changed the scene and conditions.

In the 30's attitudes toward "leisure" perforce had to change with massive unemployment. Millions of competent, willing workers and "upstanding citizens" were unable to provide for their families. This fact, coupled with the earlier situation of more leisure which industrialization afforded workingmen, challenged the idea that idleness was unacceptable behavior. In the 1920's, even before the depression, ideas about amusements, recreation and the non-productive use of time were being reexamined. The notion that amusement could be "harmful" and wasteful was changed by some to the idea that good, clean fun was harmless. Still others moved to the position that recreation was actually beneficial for the maintenance of mental health.

The depression caused persons to think of using leisure for enriched living. Cultural employment was seen as the answer to technological unemployment. Hobbies were promoted and both active and spectator sports increased.

Family recreation was emphasized as one means to maintain relationships among family members and to counteract outside divergent influences on children. Some persons questioned whether or not membership in clubs and organizations such as the Boy Scouts did not compete with the family. Automobiles both promoted family outings for persons in towns and cities and made it easy for young people to be on their own. The radio and increased numbers of magazines and books diluted the influence of families on their children. However, the radio particularly minimized the relationship of a family's income to the children's opportunities for amusement. Different from movies, after the initial expenditure, nationwide and local programs were available to all, working and unemployed families in cities or on farms.

Both the depression and the severe drought in the midwest prompted many young people to take to the road. They were regarded by some with affection as the boy and girl tramps of America. Others were concerned with the changing attitudes towards work. Getting what was needed or wanted by any means became acceptable to some children and young people.

Freedom and creativity continued to be important in recreation. The "Constructive use" of leisure time became the "creative use" of leisure time. Recreation continued in the 1930's to be viewed as a means of helping children to learn their place in society, to adjust and fit in. It also continued to be considered a major preventative to juvenile delinquency. The very young child and the adolescent were identified as populations requiring increased attention. The goal was not to take the young child out of the home, but to make the home a place with "facilities and leadership" for children's play. Parent education was characterized as a major need.

At the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, it was agreed that no field was more in need of scientific investigation than early childhood recreation and play. Emergency funds during the depression made many studies on early childhood recreation and play possible.

Need for Coordination

The availability of federal funds to states and localities during the depression on such a massive scale highlighted the need for coordination of government services and for collaboration between public and non-profit private resources, especially as they were related to purchaseable services. Information about the availability and accessability of recreation for children was spotty, and questions were being raised about the accuracy of the information which existed. Evaluations were from the point-of-view of the goals of the organizations, realistically different from those of the consumers. Few organizations involved children or young people in the assessment and planning of their recreational programs.

The need for local collaboration and comprehensive inclusive community planning plus coordination of local, state and federal governmental services was underscored the 1940 White House Conference on Children in a Democracy. The Conference's recommendation that Divisions of Recreation and Informal Education be set up by local welfare councils gave impetus to this development. A similar recommendation for the establishment of a privately supported nongovernmental national commission on recreation did not meet with equal success. A Federal Interagency Committee on Recreation was established in 1946, composed of representatives of different agencies with an interest in recreation. The committee became inactive without the establishment of a Federal Recreation Service. It was not until 1962 that the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation was established by the Secretary of the Department of Interior, combining concern for conservation with that for recreation. The new Bureau undertook most of the responsibilities assigned to the National Park Service by the Park, Parkway, and Recreation Area Act of 1936. Also in 1962 a Recreation Advisory Council was established by Executive Order to facilitate coordination among the various Federal agencies involved in outdoor recreation.

While the work during the depression appreciably expanded recreational opportunities, especially for children in small towns and rural areas, opportunities remained unequal. The 1940 Conference called the attention of the Nation again to the special needs of these rural children as well as those in families of low income, those in congested city neighborhoods, those of minority groups, pre-school children, girls, children with mental, emotional or physical handicaps, and those leaving school, especially unemployed youth.

THE IMPACT OF WORLD WAR II

Conditions surrounding the almost four years of involvement in World War II, plus Korea and Vietnam had a profound effect on recreation for children and young people, as on all aspects of life in the United States. The immediate recreational response to the United States' entrance into

World War II was to serve those involved in the war effort, both those in the military services and the civilians in war production plants, plus their families. The United States Organization was created and remains the major civilian militarily related social and recreational agency. It is composed of six national voluntary organizations, the YMCA, the YWCA, the National Jewish Welfare Board, the National Catholic Community Services, the Salvation Army and Traveller's Aid. Over the years, USO has offered entertainment throughout the world and recreation clubs and social services throughout this country for enlisted personnel. It has offered activities and companionship associated with family and community and has endeavored to provide "a home away from home" for enlisted persons in their free time.

One of the practical consequences of the Second World War was the rationing of gasoline, which resulted in marked curtailment in travel. Thus, municipal and nearby state parks were used for recreation in contrast to longer trips by private automobile. Intercity and regional sports events in which playground and school leagues had participated became interplayground and district tournaments within cities.

Emphasis on Democratic Living

Recreation, viewed as one means of transmiiting values from older generations to younger ones, remained a viable instrument during and after the period of war. With a new focus on democracy, the emphasis in recreation shifted from providing children with opportunities for play and recreational opportunities to concentration on the nature and quality of the opportunities. The immediate concern of many persons, including those in recreation, was to raise children to be responsible citizens in a democracy. Emphasis was on appreciating the richness of various cultures, recognizing the validity of differences and moving at least from tolerance of differences to mutual understanding and respect. Recreation leaders shifted attention from activities to the significance of the total recreational experience for children. Did it provide opportunity for each child to achieve and be positively recognized by other children? Did the children gain self-respect and self-reliance? Was cooperation required? Was the total experience an adventureous and happy one? Such questions as these were asked in assessing recreational opportunities.

SOCIAL RECREATION - A CHILD WELFARE CONCERN

The mid twentieth century may mark the high point in the encouragement of community sponsored recreation and clubs for children and youth by child welfare agencies. The development of social recreation (social group work) no doubt contributed to the identification of recreation and informal education as social services. Child welfare workers became alert to the leisure-time needs of the children they served and sought resources to meet such needs. Departments of public welfare were encouraged to stimulate community provision of recreational services to children when these were not available or accessible, as in small towns and rural areas.

In 1943, the Child Welfare Division of Colorado State Department of Public Welfare added a group work consultant to their staff. The responsibilities of the position included advice to local child welfare units and consultation to other community organizations such as social work agencies, civic groups and church groups. Not only were social group work services interpreted, resources identified, and integration of group work and case work services promoted, assistance also was provided with the actual organization of social recreational programs. (25) During these early mide century decades (30's - 50's) some child welfare workers included community organization of recreational resources among their responsibilities. Social recreation was deemed essential to the growth and development of children, especially as it provided preparation for responsible citizenship.

A facet of recreation known as social recreation gained prominence during these years. The self-governing club-type experience, such as offered by national voluntary youth organizations, became an integral part of municipal recreation programs. Leadership training expanded to emphasize the understanding of group processes and interaction as well as the requirements of different types of activities. The nature of relationships promoted by different activities plus the skills and self-control required were studied.

Focus was on attitudes, social patterns relations fostered by different activities. No longer was the recreation leader simply a supervisor of the use of space and equipment and the director of activities. She/he was looked to by group members for leadership, a resource of ideas, suggestions and reactions, a guide and an authority. The leader represented the adult world, interpreting it and able to accept hostility and aggressions as well as great amounts of affection. In social recreation, informal education and recreational activities met. Particularly in the 1940's and 1950's, experience in guided small voluntarily selected club type groups was viewed as effective training for democratic living and citizenship.

THE 50's AND 60's

Opportunities for play and recreation continued during the 50's and 60's to expand and to change in nature with the times. However, the expansion and changes appear to remain within the early established framework for recreation, that is, that government should support recreational opportunities for all the residents of a community and that the basic services were the provision of space, facilities and equipment with assistance in their use (supervision for children). The contribution of play and recreation to the development of children and youth and the role of public recreation in providing opportunities for such development continued to be examined.

CHANGING TASTES AND INTEREST IN RECREATION

The impact of industralization and technology on concepts of recreation has been profound. One result has been the change in the form and control of recreation for children and young people. Some of the most influencial contributions of industralization and technology to new forms of recreation are automobiles.

Wheels

Mass production of the automobile, as has been noted, at one and the same time provided opportunities for family people. "Wheels" today begin with the toddler's kiddie car and progress to the powerful motorcycles of adolescents and their hot-rods. Inquisitiveness, mobility and risking danger are characteristics of the adventureous young one.

Radio and TV

By the beginning of World War II 85% of the households in the United States had at least one radio (28) and by the end of that war it was estimated that all but 2% of the American people were listeners. (5)

Little more than a decade later (1958) (5) it was estimated that 84% of our homes had television sets and by 1972 this percentage had increased to 96. (24) The 50's and 60's witnessed transitor radios as hobbies for school children and the TV as the nation's babysitter, frequently with an older person nearby.

In 1973 it was reported that young people 12-17 on the average spent less time watching TV than any other age group. However, the 1970 White House Conference on Children reported that children through grade school spent more time in front of their TV sets than in front of their teachers. From the point of view of recreationists TV viewing is significant for many reasons, some of which are beneficial while others are seen as deleterious.

For children and young people in rural areas entertainment opportunities are equalized by radio and TV with those of persons in urban and suburban areas. Families with low incomes can enjoy the same programs as those with higher incomes even though the initial outlay represents a higher percent of income. The potential of radio and TV is enormous for increased learning, imaginative entertainment and cultural enjoyment. Children can learn and sing songs, listen to stories and enter into dramatizations; they can learn manual arts or watch skilled craftsman at work. The world of ideas and actuality can be portrayed for them in pictures, music and words.

The other side of the coin reveals questionable quality of programs for viewing by young ones. The amount of horror, crime, violence and sex presented has consistently been a matter of public concern. Recognizing that protection of children from the possible negative results of radio and TV rests with families, civic organizations, such as the Parent-Teachers Association and Action for Children's Television, have consistently worked for increased regulation by the industry. By the close of the 1960's all three of the major TV networks had appointed Vice Presidents for Children's Programming. The negative effects of TV viewing continue to be a concern to the nation.

SPORTS

Organized activities have always been popular in the United States and these sports have added to the recreation of citizens. It is said that the first news story reported by wireless was a sports event. Popularity of baseball, football, basketball, swimming and tennis has expanded through the years, regardless of the conditions of the country. Simply the increase in population may account for the seeming increase in interest, or professionalization of sports, with the accompanying broadcasting and televising of games. Whatever the reason, children can watch their favorite players, at least weekly during seasons, and, in some instances, they can practice their chosen sport all year round. Basketball courts and school playgrounds dot urban areas. Swimming pools abound. Modern playing fields for use of community residents are built so they can be adapted for multiple uses, baseball, football, basketball and tennis. However, children still do not have adequate space and facilities. Those in rural areas with space, may not have the necessary equipment or leadership. Organizations such as the Little League Baseball Foundation help make up the deficit so teams and competitions can continue to flourish. In 1972, 8,243 Little Leagues were reported for communities in every state in the Union as well as in 28 foreign countries. (8)

The eager interest of children and/or their parents in sports has posed some problems for recreationists, not the least of which is the proportion of financial and manpower resources consumed by the maintenance of facilities and equipment. Another problem is the pressure to win, the desire of children and parents to put a winning team in competitions even at the expense of excluding some children from the opportunity to play at all. Performance can become more important than participation. The best players, receive preferential treatment in the use of equipment and facilities. A current problem relates to freedom of choice in play. One area where this is evident is in having girls play on previously all boy teams, particularly Little League. The meaning of freedom of choice and opportunity in recreation is being reconsidered and reformulated in light of changes in understanding of the meaning of discrimination.

CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT - THE 70's

Developments in recreation have been and are continuous. Any separation into time spans is purely arbitary, particularly as applied to the last quarter century. The highlights noted for the 50's and 60's continue into the 70's. The subjects addressed here continue to be matters of interest to persons in recreation from the inception of the movement.

Camping and the Out-of-doors

Camping, recognized throughout the decades as allowing considerable individual freedom while at the same time requiring cooperation in living has been appreciated for its potential in helping children. Camping helps children develop their particular capacities, increase their ability to live democratically and to enjoy the out-of-doors. Stalking and trading, collecting wood and building a fire plus tales of the pioneers and frontiersmen around the campfire can all add dimensions to life. The beauty of a sunset, space, and the awesomeness of a storm can all expand a child's perception of self and the universe.

With the disappearance of the frontier and untracked wildnerness, the impact of the industrial revolution and the emergence of the age of leisure, families have taken to the out-of-doors, for hours, days and weeks. Winter sports are equaling summer activities in popularity. Public resources have been developed, ranging from city parks with their lakes and camp sites, to the majesty of many national parks with their waterways, trails, cabins and camping facilities. Municipal, State and federal governments over the years have expanded facilities for outdoor recreation. Open space land acquisition by municipalities was encouraged both by states and the federal government. In 1958 the National Outdoor Recreation Resources Commission was established to study the outdoor recreation resources of the public lands and other land and water areas of the United States. The reports, released in 1962, recommended policies and action to preserve, develop, and assure accessibility to all Americans to such resources as they require for recreation. In the same year the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation was established by the Secretary of the Interior. In 1965 the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act established a fund to finance acquisition of lands for federally administered recreation areas. The fund also provided matching grants to State and local governments for recreation planning, acquisition and development. In the 1970's the Fund was authorized at an annual level of $300,000,000, with about 60% of the fund going to States and local governments.

Two other acts passed in 1968 have created still other outdoor recreational opportunities. These are the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act and the National Trails System Act which, among other provisions, designated the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail. Such resources hold for the child and young person the promise of hiking and back packing. Meanwhile day camping opportunities have also been expanded, stimulated particularly in the 40's and 50's by the Children's Bureau and the U.S. Office of Education. In day camping the young can enjoy with other children or their families both self-discovery and the development of skills for living in harmony with others and nature.

In 1965 the creation of the National Recreation and Park Association signifies the expansion of the Playground movement from its beginnings in the Sand garden in Boston into a multi-faceted nation wide movement. Five major professional and service organizations directly involved in the recreation and park movement merged to form the one organization. (27)

Space and Play

The provision of safe places for children to play remains a paramount goal of recreationists. Today, such concern is shared by architects and landscape architects, city planners and educators as well as recreationists. At best, in planning space for children's play, the location of transportation as well as parks and recreation grounds has to be considered. The best location of out door recreation space is still seen as near a child's home.

Slums, urban renewal and high rise housing developments have challenged the skill and imagination of urban planners and architects. Respecting the values of play for the growth and development of toddlers, pre-schoolers and school age children as well as teenagers and adults, various designs of space for play and recreation are being created. Playgrounds have evolved from the early sand boxes and outdoor gyms located on land or roof tops, to being part of a designed total environment for play, pleasing to the eye and enticing to growing muscles, curiosity and imagination. Vest pocket parks and playgrounds alike can be designed to provide all types of experiences. Planned terrain allows climbing, crawling, jumping, sliding - and make believe. Such space can be part of that designed for the use of all residents of a housing project.

Such is the vision of play spaces for children, particularly in urban areas. The reality for most inner-city children remains streets and gutters, fire escapes and alleys.

Youth and Recreation

From the beginning of the recreation movement, recreation has been considered an alternative to those attractions and temptations of the streets perceived as demoralizing to children and young people. Stock phrases have been "recreation keeps children busy" or "recreation cures delinquency". For years prevention of delinquency was one of its major claims. However, the need far outweighed the resources and many professionals in community recreation were not prepared to work with young persons on the street.

Professional recreation workers, aware that they were not meeting the needs of children and youth to their satisfaction, began to reassess the role of recreation in delinquency prevention as well as its potential for meeting developmental needs of children. There was some agreement that the causes of delinquency were far too complex to be reduced significantly by any one service be it education or recreation, counselling or health services, increased job opportunities or improved housing. Working together, the various fields might mobilize the community, families and the children and youth themselves sufficiently to contribute to the reduction of delinquency. No one service could do it alone. Increased involvement of children and youth as well as citizens of a community in planning and carrying out recreation programs are responses to this problem.

Youth have been included as members of program planning and development committees in a variety of organizations. Such committee membership has characterized the work of the various State Committees on Children and Youth engaged in White House Conferences on Children and Youth since mid-century. Learning to listen to, think with and consider the ideas of others, has been a challenge to both the younger and older members alike.

Citizen Involvement

The success of citizens in establishing the provision of recreation as a government function, the growing profession of recreation and the enormous expansion of recreation over the years all contributed to a change in the role of citizens in recreation. By the 1950's community recreation programs were seeking support, especially of community groups. Such support was needed for a vareity of reasons. Increased demands on the tax dollar for the maintenance of public services required each to have public understanding and support. Community resident and participant involvement in developing programs was seen as one way to attract and hold participants in the programs. Also philosophically such involvement was recognized as developmentally important for citizens. While professional staff is still held accountable for the successes and failures of public recreation, there has been increased emphasis on skill in working with laymen, on teamwork, and on total community planning.

Both the war on poverty and the accelerated civil rights movement of the 60's gave impetus to the involvement of citizens in volunteering services and in participating in program development. The judgement of potential users of programs became an essential ingredient in the planning process for programs to be responsive to the interests of residents of a community. Not only were the opinions of individuals and groups sought through surveys, but representatives of citizen groups have helped to study recreational needs and participate in determining the nature and extent of their community's recreational programs. Furthermore, consultation, advice and encouragement have been given by community recreation staff to civic, church and neighborhood groups in housing projects, trailer communities and other areas to help them develop and expand their own recreation programs. Persons are being trained to help meet the needs they identify.

Through all of these efforts citizens are enabled to interpret recreational needs, to support recommended tax expenditures for recreation, to mount their own programs and to secure financing for special projects.

The role of the professional has shifted from planning and providing programs for people to involving them in program and policy determination and to assist them in developing their own programs. Current emphasis is on team work in community planning a comprehensive recreation program.

SUMMARY

The threads of development of recreation in the United States reflect the values, issues and problems of any given time. Thus, when recreation was viewed as competing recreation opportunities were virtually non-existent. When the nation was concerned with the survival of its citizens, recreation was an impossible luxury. But as the nation became industrialized, as increased numbers of citizens moved to crowded cities, the value of recreation as indeed a health matter was seen. And then as knowledge about human development increased, so did the appreciation of play and recreation as critical to mental and physical health increase. And, finally recreation is seen as an integral part of child and youth development as they are increasingly involved in planning and executing and participating in recreation programs. The shortened work weeks and increased family leisure time make recreation more possible and desirable to enhance the lives of children and youth.

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How
Babies
Are
Made

Chapter VII

Children's Literature

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A. Introduction

1. Viewpoint and Definition

Scholars across the world have noted the relationship between children's books and national history. Paul Hazard, member of the French Academy, writing in BOOKS, CHILDREN, AND MEN, commented "England could be constructed entirely from its children's books." (1) The British historian, F.J. Harvey Darton, described his purpose in CHILDREN"S BOOKS IN ENGLAND: FIVE CENTURIES OF SOCIAL HISTORY, as providing "a minor chapter in the history of English social life." (2) The American bibliophile and collector, Abraham S.W. Rosenbach, in the introduction to his EARLY AMERICAN CHILDREN'S BOOKS, wrote that children's books, "more than any other class of literature....reflect the minds of the generation that produced them. Hence no better guide to the history and development of any country can be found than its juvenile literature." (3)

Certainly a social history based on intimate knowledge of American children's books would reveal interweaving patterns. This chapter can claim no such purpose. It is possible, however, in a relatively brief study, to identify representative way-stations in the path of American creativity. A serious student branching out from such signposts will find his or her own substantial rewards in the rich surrounding territory of children's literature.

Even the most casual browser among children's books in our present decade can be astonished by their variety. Their luxuriant growth has roots in the fertile if untilled soil of 1776. Two hundred years after meager beginnings in borrowed treasures and derivative writings, American children can choose from a feast prepared specifically for them, as varied as adult fare: lilting poetry and frivolous verse, biography both serious and entertaining, challenging and exotic fantasy, wide-ranging and attractive anthropology, and solid fiction which captivates and holds, as well as "junior" novels which explore in uninhibited frankness an array of human problems. A long road stretches from the stark religious tracts and the rigid instructional materials of the 1770's to the lucid informational books and the enticing fiction of the 1970's. The landmarks are exciting, and are related to the signposts of education and to our understanding of chlld development.

In defining the terms and province of this chapter, it is important to note that the late scholar d'Alte Welch confined his BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN CHILDREN'S BOOKS PRINTED PRIOR TO 1821 to "narrative books written in English designed for children under fifteen years of age....the type of book read at leisure for pleasure." (4) Darton's analysis is also applicable here: "By 'children's books' I mean printed works produced ostensibly to give children spontaneous pleasure, and not primarily to teach them, nor solely to make them good, nor to keep them profitably quiet....Roughly speaking, under (the) terms (of this definition) there were no children's books in England before the (seventeenth) century, and very few even then." (5)

Thus both Darton and Welch exclude purely religious works, textbooks, and other didactic materials. For the most part, so shall we. However, familiarity with children's reading matter brought here by the colonists, and with that produced immediately after 1776 leads to the conclusion that (paraphrasing Darton) there was no American children's literature in the colonial period, and very little in the first years of our independence, for the earliest products of American writers were either purposeful religious tracts or instructional materials, and what little non-didactic reading matter that 18th century American children could enjoy was borrowed from abroad. Therefore, a brief consideration of some tracts, texts, and transported pieces will indicate the stock from which our literature developed. After the 18th century we will not deal with books written solely to instruct or to improve behavior, and we will consider only books of American writers. Moreover, because of time constraints, we will discuss no books published after 1974. For the most part we will not identify publishers, for many early firms have merged or disappeared, and works now in the public domain may have several publishers. First publication dates are cited, and those concerned can find original and present publishers in standard bibliographical tools available in libraries. Books which survived the physical hazards of our earliest years are of course treasured as rarities, and are not usually available in ordinary libraries. Welch's BIBLIOGRAPHY....is a fascinating guide to the publishing history and to the location of the very old books referred to in this chapter.

2. Inherited Treasure: The Reading of Colonial Children

American children's literature had its beginnings in the Colonial Period and in the literature which came from England with the earliest settlers and which their descendents continued to import. In order to appreciate in any way the remarkable achievement of later American writers, we must look briefly at the books already in the hands of the children when this country gained its independence.

What did the colonists bring across the Atlantic for their children to read? The settlers and the Revolutionists were people bent on preservation, and their primary concerns of religion and education dominated choices for their children. Their religion was stark, and their writing about it was calculated to terrify the young into godliness. One wonders how often parental choices engendered childish nightmares (or did put-upon Puritan children harden themselves to horror as some of their 20th century counterparts have done in response to televised violence?) Their education was high-minded if not systematic, and the books they wrote and chose as tools were simple and pragmatic.

There was, of course, the Bible. Written for children or not, they read it, or it was read to them. Its rigorous students and devout interpreters produced in their turn purposeful works to guide the young and to confirm the faith their parents came to the New World to save.

It was a singularly joyless time for literature. Consider the two earliest examples of religion put into storybook form. James Janeway, English minister who died in

1674, wrote A TOKEN FOR CHILDREN: BEING AN EXACT ACCOUNT OF THE CONVERSION, HOLY AND EXEMPLARY LIVES AND JOYFUL DEATHS OF SEVERAL YOUNG CHILDREN. This grim narrative of unnaturally pious and unrelievedly moribund youngsters, first published in England in 1671 and 1672 in two parts, must have dominated the reading of Puritan children, for d'Alte Welch identified 29 editions produced between the first Boston version of 1700 and 1816. In fact a third part was added, the Reverend Cotton Mather's special American creation, A TOKEN FOR THE CHILDREN OF NEW ENGLAND, OR SOME EXAMPLES OF CHILDREN IN WHOM THE FEAR OF GOD WAS REMARKABLY BUDDING BEFORE THEY DIED: IN SEVERAL PARTS OF NEW ENGLAND. Another example of the earliest religious imports is A LITTLE BOOK FOR CHILDREN, by Thomas White (printed in Boston in 1702), full of admonition and horrifying details rehashed from Foxe's BOOK OF MARTHRS.

A third example is somewhat lighter, and shows some indication of understanding children's needs if not their capabilities. Benjamin Harris was a colonial printer and sometime author who left Boston to return to England about 1695. In 1698 he produced in London the HOLY BIBLE, CONTAINING THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, WITH THE APOCRAPHY, DONE INTO VERSE BY B. HARRIS, FOR THE BENEFIT OF WEAK MEMORIES. American editions appearing from 1717 on, and known as THE HOLY BIBLE IN VERSE, were popular and influential, and undoubtedly much beloved, even by those whose memories were strong.

In 1715, there appeared in England, DIVINE SONGS ATTEMPTED IN EASY LANGUAGE FOR THE USE OF CHILDREN, by Isaac Watts. The popularity of these verses, with their occasional touch of mercy and tenderness, is documented in the record of 66 American reprintings of the 1730 for Boston edition in the next 89 years.

It may be that the first truly American narrative for children was THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY JESUS...BEING A PLEASANT AND PROFITABLE COMPANION FOR CHILDREN, COMPOSED ON PURPOSE FOR THEIR USE BY A LOVER OF THEIR PRECIOUS SOULS. The earliest edition extant is the third, printed in 1746 in Boston for "B. Gray, on the North Side of the Market." This storybook has pictures, an unusual feature for such an early children's book. They are rough cuts, with such charming inaccuracies as 18th century garb for Jesus and his followers.

These five early books are of course not the only religious works offered for 18th century American children, but they are significant and representative.

The Puritans brought with them to their new home the seminal volume for all early American schoolbooks, THE PROTESTANT TUTOR FOR YOUTH, published and possibly written by Benjamin Harris in Londong about 1680. This is the same Harris who migrated to Boston, but returned to London where in sympathy for weak memories he converted the Bible into verse, as we noted above. THE PROTESTANT TUTOR seems a dull, lifeless alphabet book, the only drama being the gruesomely detailed account of the burning of the Reverend John Rogers whose martydom dominates 17th century literature. In his Boston period, Harris issued the famous NEW ENGLAND PRIMER which he copies from his PROTESTANT TUTOR.

After spiritual and intellectual well-being, came concern for social acceptance. A late 17th century London publication, THE SCHOOL OF MANNERS, was the inspiration of one enterprising if piratical Eleazar Moody (or Moodey--the spelling varies)," late a famous School-Master in Boston," who skimmed off its cream to produce THE SCHOOL OF GOOD MANNERS, the earliest extant edition having been published in "New London" Connecticut in 1715. This guide advised children on "the ordering of their Lives," indicating suitable behavior "at the Meeting-house, at Home, at the Table, in Company, in Discourse, at School Abroad." The importance of Moody's admonitory work is attested by the 28 known editions by 1818.

Shortly after THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER appeared, the ideas of John Locke began to stir other thinkers, affecting English literature and therefore the development of American children's literature. The London publisher John Newbery is celebrated for producing the first books "for the instruction and amusement" of children, in 1744 and indeed, his shrewd kindliness quickly multiplied the opportunities children had for pleasure reading. However, a percipient pioneering female appears to have preceded Newbery in some degree, for in 1743, Mary Cooper published in London THE CHILD'S NEW PLAYTHING, BEING A SPELLING BOOK INTENDED TO MAKE THE LEARNING TO READ A DIVERSION. A 1750 Boston edition of this unorthodox publication included folktales ("St. George and the Dragon" and "Reynard the Fox", among others), the earliest known American-printed book thus to contain literature. This innovative approach to children's reading marks also the first American printing of "A. Apple Pye B. Bit it C. Cut it", and "A was an Archer and shot at a frog" ...two alphabet rhymes that were such persistently famous features in the early education of American children.

English children had access to large numbers of "chapbooks", the 18th century variety of paperback reading sold by the "chapmen" or itinerant hawkers who as they peddled their "notions"---pins, needles, thread, and other easily transported items, sold also this fugitive literature. Chapbooks were cheaply printed, in some cases poorly written, insubstantial in content, and inappropriate for children. However, this was the medium in which many children read of "Jack Horner", "Jack the Giant Killer", "The Babes in the Wood", "Tom Thumb", "The Famous and Remarkable History of Sir Richard Whittington", "The Famous and Renowned history of Guy, Earl of Warwick", "Robin Hood", and other British folk heroes. Hordes of chapbooks swept freely across the Atlantic, where they generated copies and new versions. This pamphlet literature either depressed or amused American children, according to the content. One very early borrowing from English and Irish editions was THE PRODIGAL DAUGHTER, a grim tale in verse of a "Disobedient Child Reclaimed", printed possibly between 1737 and 1741. The varying edtions, uncertain as to date but apparently continuing into the early 19th century, indicate this particular horror must have been immensely popular with parents, whatever the mood it engendered in children.

Unfortunately we lack names for many individual chapbooks which gave early American children a large share of their lightest pleasures. Ephemeral though they were, and often insubstantial in content, they were bright, attractive, and highly satisfying to a child reared on Janeway, Cotton Mather, and THE PRODIGAL DAUGHTER. An exchange of letters in 1741 between two little boys growing up on neighboring Virginia planatations is revealing.

Rosalie Halsey quotes a letter from Richard Henry Lee (aged 9) to his fried George Washington (also 9) describing a book he is sending him, full of pictures..."of dogs and cats and tigers and elefants and ever so many pretty things." George in writing back to thank "Dear Dickey", informed him that he could "read three or four pages sometimes without missing a word." (6) Hard cover books for children of this period were normally not so illustrated. What was this---just one more chapbook, or a bright beginning of children's picture books?

The year 1756 probably saw the printing by Daniel Fowle in Boston, of the landmark first non-schoolbook not based on the Bible. A NEW GIFT FOR CHILDREN: DELIGHTFUL AND ENTERTAINING STORIES FOR LITTLE MASTERS AND MISSES. It was based on an English collection, THE CHRISTMAS BOX, printed in 1746 and sold also by M. Cooper in collaboration with M. Boreman, in London.

While this was the first book of its kind produced in America, it does not follow that, except for the chapbooks, American children had only tomes of fire and brimstone, admonition and instruction to read until A NEW GIFT...came along. Children have ways of escaping oppressive morality, or at least diluting its heavy dosage. As Paul Hazard puts it, "Children defend themselves...I maintain they have won by main force the best and most famous of their favorite books. Their authors were addressing men, but it is the children who have taken possession of them." (7)

In such fashion, three adult books were taken possession of, first by English children, and later by their American cousins. THE WONDERSUL LIFE AND SURPRISING ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE (published in England in 1719) survives in an American edition of 1774, an abridged version of THE ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN GULLIVER (England, 1726) was printed in Philadelphia in 1787, and the first American edition of PILGRIM'S PROGRESS (England, 1676-78) was printed by Isaiah Thomas as A CHRISTIAN PILGRIM, in Worcester Massachusetts in 1798.

Colonial children were given also such older books their elders had cherished as MORTE d'ARTHUS, and Aesop's FABLES. Sometimes the results were unrelated to scholarship or serious purpose. Philip Fithian, the young Princeton tutor engaged for the children of Robert Carter in Westmoreland County, Virginia, reports an unorthodox use which one of his pupils made of "an old Book of Esops Fables done into English verse; in the Margins of this Book up and Down Bob had in his scribbling Way recorded the Names of several young Ladies of Westmorland (sic) and Richmond Counties."(8) (Nearly two centuries later, in the same mood, another adolescent changed the cover of his staid Latin book into DATIN' FOR AMERICANS by the conversion of an initial L and the addition of an apostrophe.) Indeed, "children defend themselves" from boredom.

Children on both sides of the Atlantic must have been breathless with delight when in 1729 the first English translation of Perrault's FAIRY TALES appeared in London and undoubtedly migrated to America, although the first American edition was not printed until 1794, when Peter Edes brought it out in Haverhill, Massachusetts. These few tales from France brought unaccountable hours of joy to the children lucky enough to lay hands on them and to savor the fresh vigor of "Cinderrella", the delicate romance of "The Sleeping Beauty", the sly wit of "Puss in Boots"---in contrast to the grim fare previously prepared for them, and even to the hand-me-down adventures obtained from their elders.

A number of factors obscure the beginnings of American juvenile literature. Some first efforts have simply disappeared from sight, leaving only tantalizing references in contemporary records to prove that they existed. Many have been called "American", but they are not the work of writers born on these shores or Revolutionized into citizenship. Although Welch's BIBLIOGRAPHY...covers several thousand books, most of these are works written elsewhere, only printed here. Reprinting from European editions was a way of life for the earliest American publishers, and they did not always identify the sources from which they edited, revised, or simply lifted wanted portions. Therefore it is not a simple matter to single out the first American creations. The more or less skillful attempts by American printers to alter popular English works to fit the American scence certainly increased interest for American readers, but as Rosenbach has pointed out, "...the text of the books was sometimes changed to such an extent that without a knowledge of the original English edition, it would be almost impossible to be aware that the book was not native to America."...(9)

There is another factor, all too familiar to any parent. Young children destroy even as they cherish, and the more a book is loved, the more it is clutched, chewed, slept on, and wept over---the more rapidly it deteriorates. The products of early printers were not sturdy, and unquestionably more books perished than survived. Among those so lost, early English editions which would document borrowing might have mingled with first efforts of truly American writers.

In the absence, then, of a sizable body of literature clearly identifiable as the work of native Americans or of colonists who became citizens of the new country as of 1776, we accept the 18th century mixture for what it is, and marvel the more at what it gave rise to.

B. Borrowing and Beginning: 1774-1824

The fact of independence created no sharp dividing line in the history of juvenile literature in the United States. The first American products, like their predecessors of the colonial period, were predominantly religious and didactic. No memorable original fiction or poety comes from these years, but European treasures were freely transformed for the American scene.

The earliest American publishers were numerous, productive, and exceedingly important factors. It was the astute Isaiah Thomas of Worcester, Massachusetts, who reprinted most of the books from John Newbery's business, after the Revolution. (One does not ask how he obtained them.) Thomas was concerned for the welfare of children and the quality of their reading; he was as well a good business man. In New York, publishers like Hugh Gaine and Mahlon Day shared these concerns, as did John and Thomas Fleet of Boston, Benjamin and Jacob Johnson and their partner Benjamin Warner, and William Charles, in Philadelphia. If independence brought no immediate change in style or content of children's reading matter, these publishers and many others did produce children's books in far greater numbers during the late 18th century. The books were designed to sell as well as to satisfy; tiny in size they were, enclosed in bright gilt or marbled paper covers, as the economy of the times permitted.

Thomas's first edition of MOTHER GOOSE'S MELODY: OR SONNETS FOR THE CRADLE, was reprinted from Newbery and apparently issued in 1786. These "most celebrated Songs and Lullabies of the old British Nurses, calculated to amuse Children and to excite them to Sleep" (what a phrase!) were combined with "those of that sweet Songster and Nurse of Wit and Humour, Master William Shakespeare." They must have enlivened the days of many an early American child, for Thomas and his colleagues found it profitable to reprint. Welch describes eight editions before 1821, and separate rhymes were included in other collections. Other English favorites reprinted here after 1776 and doubtless much enjoyed were THE HISTORY OF LITTLE GOOD TWO SHOES, an edition of NURSE TRUELOVE'S NEW YEAR'S GIFT (which contains "The House That Jack Built"), TOM THUMB'S FOLIO, LONDON CRIES, THE RENOWNED HISTORY OF GILES GINGERBREAD, and many variants of COCK ROBIN.

Among such rich imports is one which straddles the fence between instructional materials and literature. Thomas, shrewd as he was, early recognized the peculiar value of John Newbery's LITTLE PRETTY POCKETBOOK and its announced intent "For the Instruction and Amusement of little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly." His first edition appeared in Worcester in 1787, and was "Sold wholesale and Retail at his Book-Store." Welch describes its green and gold covers and classes it as a "relatively common book, there being a publisher's remainder of it."(10) Thomas's contribution of "163 Rules for Behavior in Children" (11) adds American flavor, but emphasizes the pedantic touch in Newbery's admittedly innovative volume; once again, the urge to instruct was irresistable.

Perhaps the most interesting of the English toy-books and similar diversions taken over, adapted, or re-worked by American publishers was the METAMORPHOSIS, OR A TRANSFORMATION OF PICTURES, a single sheet of paper so cut and printed that flaps could be folded and refolded to change an illustration. Many editions and reprintings appeared from about 1787 on into the 19th century, for the device was a popular one. The text, consisting of "Poetical Explanations; For the Amusement of Young Persons" is attributed to one Benjamin Sands; its British sourcebook was a 1654 edition of unknown authorship, THE BEGINNING, PROGRESS AND END OF MAN. Here was religion again, but this piece was calculated also to entertain, telling a story of Adam and Eve and man's return to dust, all neatly phrased with directions for folding the paper to reveal a griffin, an eagle, or appropriate symbol of life's hazards. Special touches like the American flag marked editions of the 19th century. The illustrations are noteworthy as the work of several men who were later to enliven many other children's books: the early copper-plate engravers Alexander Anderson, James Poupard, and Abel Bowen. Imaginative children evidently enjoyed copying these toy books, and Welch records a manuscript inscribed "Designed by Katherine Fisher 18 years of age 1789." (12)

In this period, periodicals for American children began, with the first issue of THE CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE, published in January, 1789 in Hartford, Connecticut. Because it was "Calculated for the Use of Families and Schools" we eliminate it from our discussion, but just as the earliest schoolbooks and didactic biographies heralded the growth of concern for children's literature, so this simple magazine is a significant first note.

As the first twenty-five years of our independence closed the 18th century, no stunning American literary landmarks for children had appeared, no works hailed as treasure then survive to be read with happiness today. The books were for the most part dull, but they reflect the life of a young people, who were conscious of mortality, concerned with life after death, and careful of (without really understanding) their children's minds. The very paucity of the reading matter points up the effect it had on children with so little else to read.

However, the first quarter of the 19th century brought new themes and threads, along with continuing informational material. We can say that biography developed, that the potential of American folklore was discovered, and that fiction, poetry, and picture books began in American juvenile literature, always remembering that earlier and perhaps better beginnings may have perished in too-loving attention or natural disasters.

Factual writing of the period was so pedantic it largely excludes itself; however, some representative books proposing to amuse as well as instruct are worth noting. Publishers found natural history profitable, for each of the books mentioned here was issued in several editions. Among the popular titles were FOOTSTEPS TO THE NATURAL HISTORY OF BIRDS (Philadelphia: Jacob Johnson, 1803) and FOOTSTEPS TO THE NATURAL HISTORY OF BEASTS (Johnson, 1804), reworked from a London combined volume. The American format is notable for its woodcuts by Alexander Anderson, as was also THE HISTORY OF BIRDS (New York: S. Wood, 1810). Samuel Wood issued in New York also THE HISTORY OF BEASTS (1808), THE HISTORY OF INSECTS (1808), THE HISTORY OF FISH (1810), and AN ACCOUNT OF THE ASTONISHING BEAUTIES AND OPERATIONS OF NATURE IN THE MINUTE CREATION, DISPLAYED BY THE SOLAR MICROSCOPE, by Christopher Colles (1813).

There is evidence, both factual and fictional, of interest in American Indians. Elias Boudinot, himself a Cherokee educated in Connecticut, among other things appears to have wirtten THE HISTORY OF AN INDIAN WOMAN in 1820. This heavily religious biography was issued by several publishers, so it must have been popular. The first book of Lydia Maria Francis (who was to be better known as Lydia Maria Child) was a novel not wittten specifically for children, HOBOMOK. This story about a tragedy-ridden marriage between a Plymouth girl and a young Indian brave, published anonymously about 1821, indicated a nineteen-year-old's concern about the first Americans, on whom James Fenimore Cooper was to focus more consistently. His first novel was THE PIONEERS (1823)

Rosenbach has pointed out that the new country's new patriotism induced more biographical writing which held up American heroes for children to emulate. (13) Once again, most of these books were written for the purposes of improving children's minds and behavior, but a quick glance identifies two popular volumes. THE BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS

OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON (1808) usually attributed to John Corry, was widely reprinted by publishers from New Haven to Baltimore. It is difficult to view Parson Weem's LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON as "informational writing," but this cheerful exercise of a Virginia preacher's imagination, which he had printed himself in 1808 in Philadelphia, was obviously pedantic in intent. Its "Curious Anecdotes", exemplified in the cherry-tree incident, flavored juvenile literature with spirit if not truth, for years to follow.

A far more significant event was the debut of American folklore. Washington Irving may not have written specifically for children, but we have seen that this makes little difference. When his SKETCH BOOK appeared in 1819, the tales he had wrought out of bits and pieces of Dutch lore haunting the New York countryside attracted young readers. They can still be drawn to "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." It was of course the inherent drama of the stories that captured the children, who after the first reading heard the clap of bowling balls in every roll of thunder, and to whom every dark road brought the shadow of a rider without a head.

Aside from this folklore and Cooper's first novel, the first real fiction has not proved so enduring. Perhaps the earliest extant is a piece of historical fiction by John Davis, called CAPTAIN SMITH AND PRINCESS POCAHONTAS: AN INDIAN TALE (1805). The book evidently had some success, for in 1836, a "new edition, revised and corrected" was published. Curiously enough, Noah Webster, "schoolmaster to America", produced a single item of fiction, THE PIRATES: A TALE FOR THE AMUSEMENT AND INSTRUCTION OF YOUTH (1813). These "firsts" are in the Rosenbach collection.

The early 19th century saw the rise of the Sunday School Movement in the United States (14), and its gathering strength must have delayed the development of juvenile fiction, which was supposed by many fundamentalists to have a demoralizing effect on the young. Jacob Blanck, in a lecture first delivered at Simmons College and subsequently published in Targ's BIBLIOPHILE IN THE NURSERY, comments that in this period, "amusement in reading was not quite a sin, but close to it", and quotes from an 1820 pamphlet of the Tract Society of New York to the effect that "Books of mere fiction and fancy are generally bad in their character and influence." (15)

However slow the threads of brightness were to appear in fiction, they began to gleam in poetry and verse. English children of the 17th and 18th centuries had enjoyed the "Cries" which they heard in the streets of London describing the hawkers' goods, and which they read in numerous chapbook editions. These were brought to America where they were reprinted from 1786 on by Isaiah Thomas and others in many editions and variations which amused American children as they advertised "Choice Fruitm Madam, Fine Pippins", "Green and Large Cucumbers", and "Hot SpiceGingerbrea, Hot", among other wares and services. In their turn, they inspired collections of cries tailored to fit the cities of the new country. One of the earliest extant is THE CRIES OF NEW YORK, printed and sold in 1808 by Samuel Wood at his Juvenile Book Store in New York, and for a number of editions and reprintings thereafter. Wood interspersed the cries with moral and social commentary, regretting such practices as the theft of watermelons (this attached to the Cry of "Here's your fine, ripe WaterMilyons", a purely American Cry) and the drinking of spiritous liquors, and urging the establishment of public baths. There is an information piece about New York itself (werhe some 96,000 persons were then living). The Cries include favorites copied from the older LONDON CRIES FOR CHILDREN, but also such native-tailored gems as "Fine Clams: choice Clams/Here's your Rock-a-way beach/ Clams: here's your fine/Young, sand Clams".

Halsey writes of this as "perhaps the first child's book of purely local interest", and the "first distinctly American picture-book". (16) Each of the 26 Cries has its own woodcut, which may have been the work of Dr. Alexander Anderson, the dually gifted New York-born physician. He was a fervant admirer and frequent copier of the work of the great English artist Thomas Bewick. Anderson began as a copper engraver, but later worked mostly on wood. The habit of early children's book illustrators to leave their work unsigned, or to sign only with a symbol, confuses the history of early American picture books. However, Anderson's characteristics contributions have been identified in a number of cases. He illustrated increasingly for such publishers as Jacob Johnson of Philadelphia, Samuel Wood, and Mahlon Day of New York, and Sidney Babcock of New Haven. The woodcuts in THE CRIES OF NEW YORK are notable for their local details picturing the city's street life, with such unusual touches as black children selling the baked pears and hot corn which were the subjects of cries.

Among the earliest probably native verse is a curious book published about 1806 which told of "A City most wise and fine,....the streets all alive with swine". This charming bit of early environmentalism, enriched with engarved plates had colored, was SOME VERY GENTLE TOUCHES TO SOME VERY GENTLE-MEN BY A HUMBLE COUNTRY COUSIN OF PETER PINDAR, ESQ., DEDICATED TO ALL THE LITTLE GIRLS AND BOYS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Not only was there concern for untidy streets, but females were mentioned first in the dedication!

It was doggerel, of course, however sprightly. Indeed, there survives nothing but doggerel, until in 1822 a New York professor, astonishingly, wrote some verses which have spread over thousands of miles and a hundered and fifty years. Clement Clarke Moors, Professor of Oriental and Greek Literature of General Theological Seminary, wrote A VISIT FROM ST. NICHOLAS for his own children. He appears to have been initially uninterested in its publication, even after THE SENTINEL of Troy, New York printed it anonymously in December of 1823. It was widely copied without attribution until Moore acknowledged authorship in 1837, and it was reprinted many times thereafter. It is a significant piece of literature on several counts. Dancing rhythm and sparkling imagery mark it as poetry, a clear story of line and witty characterization place it as fiction, and its visitor from another world, that "right jolly old elf", establishes it as the first enduring American fantasy. Children have always revelled in its richness, and few family festivals are complete today without a reading of "The Night Before Christmas".

C. "Intellectual Plum Pudding", Romanticism, and the Early Realists: 1825-1874

The middle of the 19th century was notable for its contrasts. Dedicated pedantry sugar-coated learning and wound up geography into series after series of travelogues; in those years came a writer of genius who embellished Greek mythology for children, not very Greek, but glowing and poetic; a master teacher wrote voluminously to instruct, but also, in his leisure, he created some of the first attractive family fiction; there came no lasting prose fantasy, but American poetry developed in strength and appealing simplicity; several imaginative men wrote romantic, swash-buckling adventure tales; two thoughtful ladies wrote reasonably valid fiction about children in other countries; hack writers turned out a morass of sentimentality and of pragmatism; by the time the century was three-quarters over, American readers were acclaiming a woman who wrote faithfully about the relationships among human beings and created a sympathetic and enduring portrait of a family of girls growing up in a New England town. In the same years appeared a succession of magazines which brought substantial literature on a regular basis to young readers before library services were widespread.

A surge of didacticism opened the period. Its first writer of note was Samuel Griswold Goodrich, who abominated fairy tales, and inveighed against them. In this action he was reflecting not only the gathering strength of the American Sunday School movement, but also the literary world's domination by a group of high-minded English ladies each determined to bend the twigs of childhood in the proper direction, brooking no nonsense while they were about it. Their tireless, admonitory, utilitarian writings were popular in England, and spread to America, where they must have inhibited the growth of imaginative literature for children in the first half of our 19th century. A few voices publicly bewailed the banishment of the fairies, for in 1834 in Boston, THE CHILDREN'S ANNUAL included "A Lament for the Fairies". It moaned, in part...."Farewell to all the pretty tales/Of merry elfins dining/On mushroom tables, in the dales/Lit by the glow-worms shining/....Farewell! like theirs my song is done/But yet once more I'll say/There never has been any fun/Since fairies went away." (17)

Goodrich's books are so full of instructional purpose that they hold little interest as literature, but his output was good-humored, massive, and influential. His announced aim was "to convey to children, under the guise of amusement, the first ideas of Geography and History. In pursuing this object, the author has connected these grave topics with personal adventures, and exhibited an outline merely, in simple terms, adapted to the taste and knowledge of children." (18) Noble as this ambition was, he took no pride in it, recognizing that "nursery literature" commanded little professional respect, anyway. (19) Therefore he adopted the pseudonym "Peter Parley", and in the years between 1827 and 1850 he wrote more than 150 books, with total sales of several million volumes. Pedestrian and contrived as his books seem today, they represent a step away from primers and textbooks as sole fare, and they look towards the rich informational literature to come in the 20th century. Goodrich himself used a wonderful phrase about his work: when the passage of years and much success had encouraged him to reveal his authorship, and he was writing about his anthology of gems from Peter Parley, he described his wish to make of it "a sort of intellectual plum-pudding." (20)

He was not the only writer to dress up facts in a narrative style to ease the learning process, but he was more successful than some, including Nathaniel Hawthorne, who actually had spent some time as a sort of hack writer for Goodrich. Among other titles, Hawthorne produced, with his sister Elizabeth, PETER PARLEY'S UNIVERSAL HISTORY ON THE BASIS OF GEOGRAPHY, in 2 volumes, first published in 1837 and reissued for many years. Under his own name, Hawthorne wrote a 3-part series of "True Stories from New England History." Elizabeth Peabody, (whose sister Sophia later married Hawthorne) published all three in 1841. GRANDFATHER'S CHAIR: A History for Youth, FAMOUS OLD PEOPLE: Being the Second epoch of Grandfather's Chair, and THE LIBERTY THREE: With the Last Words of Grandfather's Chair, were well received, and indeed, were reprinted. But they never were acclaimed like Hawthorne's later and markedly different work for children.

At mid-century, a refreshing approach to folklore appeared. In May of 1851, Hawthorne described his plan for "a book of stories made up of classical myths...Unless I greatly mistake, these old fictions will work up admirably for the purpose; and I shall aim at substituting a tone in some degree Gothic or romantic, or any such tone as may best please myself, instead of the classic coldness which is as repellant as the touch of cold marble." (21) With enviable dispatch, he completed six tales and in July of that year he wrote in his "Preface" to A WONDER BOOK FOR GIRLS AND BOYS that the task was "one of the most agreeable, of a literary kind, which he ever undertook---the author has not always thought it necessary to write downward, in order to meet the comprehension of children. He has generally suffered the theme to soar, whenever such was its tendency, and whenever he himself was buoyant enough to follow without an effort. Children possess an unestimated sensibility to whatever is deep or high, in imagination or feeling, so long as it is simple, likewise. It is only the artifical and the complex that bewilder them." (22)

The book was such a success that he followed with another half-dozen TANGLEWOOD TALES, in 1853, and the two volumes have subsequently been bound together. Hawthorne provided a contemporary framework in the device of a young college student who tells the tales to an assortment of younger relatives. The myths themselves he re-worked in new warmth and beauty of style, which pleased his child-readers, who must have sensed his respect for them.

A new kind of fiction now gave evidence of the changing status of children, and of adults' view of them. It had some slowly. During some of the years when Goodrich was writing his geography and history and travelogues, a famous New England schoolmaster had also been assiduously providing reading matter for his own pupils and for thousands of others. Jacob Abbott wrote even more voluminously than Goodrich---some 180 titles. His first travel book appeared in 1840, and featured the experiences of Rollo Holiday, whose efforts at learning had been the subject of some 14 earlier books, all highly pedagogical. In the travel series, Rollos' relatives take him here and there about Europe, as Abbott puts thme in a book for each country. Uncle George has a limitless fund of information, gives it out constantly, and Rollo blots it up. So did the young readers who welcomed each new Rollo junket so enthusiastically. Jacob Abbott was a gifted teacher whose pioneering ideas about the education of children were reflected in the wisdom and lively spirit of the books he prepared for them. He wrote history as well as travelogues, and his biographies showed insight uncharacteristic of most 19th century writing. He made ancient days and heroes accessible to children in such books as his HISTORY OF KING ALFRED OF ENGLAND(1849) and HISTORY OF NERO (1853).

Successful and unstereotyped as his factual works were, his greatest significance for us lies in his creation of the most viable children's fiction to date: the series of "Franconia" stories, which appeared between 1850 and 1853. Abbott himself appears to have had no great opinion of these books, for in the Preface (23) (so neatly made to serve more than one volume) he tells us "the writing of them has been the amusement and recreation of the author in the intervals of more serious Pursuits." He also states his purpose to "present quiet and peaceful pictures of happy domestic life." He succeeded in a way no American writer before him had done.

The ten little books concern the summertime adventures of counsins in the New England mountains. Wallace, a college student, his nine-year-old brother Stuyvesant, and their little sister Malleville (she is seven when the stories begin) vacation with their Aunt Henry and her son Alonzo ("Phonny"), who is also nine years old when we first meet him. Living with Aunt Henry and Phonny (who may have been modelled on Abbott's own small boyhood) at their house "at the entrance of a wild glen", is a twelve-year-old French Canadian helper named Antoine Bianchinette, whom the children call "Beechnut", partly because that's what he is hungrily munching when they first meet him, and partly because that's what his name sounds like to Phonny. The children have friends in the neighborhood, and the volumes extend themselves neatly by the device of one devoted to each member of the group: MALLENVILLE, WALLACE, MARK ERSKINE, MARY BELL, BEECHNUT, RODOLPHUS, ELLEN LINN, STUYVESANT, CAROLINE, AND AGNES.

What the stories lack in plot, they compensate for in amusing, childlike incident, witty observation, and valid characters. Wallace, always on his dignity, has yet admirable patience. Beechnut, although he is incredibly knowledgeable, and is an almost incredibly able administrator for a twelve-year-old, is full of whimsy. Phonny is as refreshingly heedless as Stuyvesant is helpfully foresighted and responsible. (An educator is tempted to attribute this difference in the two boys to the perpetual absence of Phonny's father, in contrast to Stuyvesant's good fortune in the careful big-brother guidance of Wallace, and their companionable father.) Mallenville is a spirited, imaginative youngster. The older children are kind to the younger ones, but not sickeningly so. The older girls are believable; an honest independence appears in Mary Bell along with her amiable concern for others, and Caroline is reaslistically self-centered, but disarmingly good-tempered.

The style of this early family fictions is relatively easy and direct. The wide age range of the children and the vocabulary (*sagacity*, *precipice*, *convalescent*, etc.) suggests the books were "read aloud" material for families--or else the 7-9-year-olds of 1853 read better than most of their descendants a hundred years later!

While Abbott was writing his Franconia stories, Harriet Beecher Stowe was busy with UNCLE TOM'S CABIN which appeared in 1852, and was read by young people, though not written specifically for them. The Hartford children's librarian, Caroline Hewins, so influential a figure among her New England colleagues, writes of having read it when she was seven years old. (24) Since Hewins was born in 1846, she must have been reading it soon after publication.

Poetry, in these middle years, gradually sounded a stronger note in children's experience. It began as children read the poems of Emerson, Lowell, Poe, and Whittier, published in their parents' journals and collections. It grew stronger as the influence of England's educators waned, and America's creative artists began to see children as an audience to be respected in their own right. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poetry was popular with children from his first publications in 1839 onward, and eventually his publishers (Houghton Mifflin) made a special collection, THE CHILDREN'S OWN LONGFELLOW, which was still being reprinted in 1975. Aside from such giants of the adult world, some less celebrated but talented writers addressed children directly in simple appealing verses.

Sarah Josepha Hale's famous lines about "Mary's Lamb" and where he followed her were first published in the magazine JUVENILE MISCELLANY in 1830. Lydia Maria Child's best-known poem is probably "The New England Boy's Sond About Thanksgiving Day", which countless children have sung as "Over the River and Through the Wood." It appeared in BOOK II: "For Children From Four to Six Years Old", of Child's three-volume set, FLOWERS FOR CHILDREN (1845). From the other two volmes (BOOK I: "For Children Eight or Nine Years Old", and BOOK III: "For Children of Eleven or Twelve") nothing so well-liked has survived, but the set is notable because of its consideration of the needs of children at differing ages.

The emphasis was still on factual writing. In 1836, more evidence appeared of Lydia Maria Child's lifelong concern for minority citizens: THE FIRST SETTLERS OF NEW ENGLAND, OR CONQUEST OF THE PEQUODS, NARRAGANSETS AND POKANOKETS, apparently first issued anonymously "As related by a mother to her children, and designed for the instruction of youth, By a Lady of Massachusetts".

While Goodrich, Hawthorne, and Abbott were famous, another writer was producing a series of histories for children. John Bonner was not so popular as those three, but he was successful enough to be under contract with Harper and Brothers for some forty years. His CHILD'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES may have appeared first about 1855, and was reissued in two volumes in 1866: A CHILD'S HISTORY OF ROME, two volumes, was published in 1856, A CHILD'S HISTORY OF FRANCE in 1892, A CHILD'S HISTORY OF SPAIN in 1893. The two volumes of A CHILD's HISTORY OF GREECE (1857) indicate his realistic approach to historical writing for children, for he devotes about two-thirds of Volume I to "Stories and Legends". He retells the myths, putting them into perspective as the religion of a people, and ends with some advice: "I have given you the fables and legends as they were given to the Greeks. If I have succeeded in preserving as much of the original as I have sought to preserve, you must have been struck by their beauty. Admire them on this account; learn from them how rich the Greek fancy was, and how simple the faith of the Greek people; but do not mistake them for history." (25) The rest of his two volumes brings Greece up to his publication date; it is oversimplified, of course (he covers the last 400 years in 50 pages) but it is a welcome, straightforward recognition that children need legend as well as fact, and that they are able to differentiate between the two.

As yet, no truly satisfying fantasy budded on the 19th century branch where Clement Moore's fairy-tale poem had put forth with such charm and promise. Christopher Pearse Cranch, sometime member of the Brook Farm group of Transcendentalists, made a remarkable stab at imaginative fiction, in THE LAST OF THE HUGGERMUGGERS and its sequl KOBBOLTOZO, published in Boston 1855-1857. Cranch was a literary wit of considerable reputation, also as artist and caricaturist, but his stories lacked the authentic spark and have not endured. Still, in their own way, they sounded a brave challenge (written as they were for his own four children) to the by-now-moribund practitioners of purely utilitarian literature. Great fantasy from Europe would shortly enrich American children, for the fairy tales of Hans Christian Andersen were being translated (some would eventually have their first publication in a children's magazine in the United States) and a British mathematics professor's stunning achievement would delight children when ALICE's ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND was published in 1865 and swept across the ocean.

The time and temper of America were right for an upswing of adventure fiction. Moreover, it was natural for the time that the young adventurers would be made. and that men would write about them. (It is however, unlikely that only boys read these satisfying wild tales.) From the appearance of James Fenimore Cooper's THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS in 1826, able readers relished his historical novels in the romantic tradition, his faithful portrayal of Indians as human beings, his powerful evocation of forest life, and the blood and thunder of warring cultures. The books would last into the 20th century, attracting the talents of the greatest of American illustrators in their time.

Among the later writers who captured the attention of the 19th century's adventure-hungry children, four stand out in their period, though their work is little read today, except by students of literature. The most prolific of them was a New England teacher, William Taylor Adams, who as "Oliver Optic" wrote more than a hundred books in many successful series, and edited several magazines which came and went over a ten-year period in the 1860's and 1870's. Charles Austin Fosdick wrote, as "Harry Castlemon", more than 50 books in extremely popular series. New Englander Elijah Kellogg wrote convincingly of the "Down East" locale. John Townsend Trowbridge's stories were widely read, and he is occasionally remembered today as the author of two frequently anthologized poems, "Midwinter" and "Darius Green and His Flying Machine". As these men wrote their substantial, wholesome, lively tales which delighted the boys and the girls, they also were speaking out for the right of children to read for pure amusement.

In the freshening climate of realism, two ladies laid a surprisingly solid foundation for the one-world feelings to come in the next century. They were Jane Andrews and Mary Mapes Dodge. A short book with a long title, THE SEVEN LITTLE SISTERS WHO LIVE ON THE ROUND BALL THAT FLOATS IN THE AIR, by Andrews, was published in 1861. The "sisters" was a euphemism, for the little girls, individually described in their homelands scattered around the world, are unrelated except in the author's imaginative good will. But she did use imagination nicely tempered with truth, which made her book a new experience for readers of the more pedestrian travelogues. Although the seven Little Sisters' popularity kept them in print until 1924, today's internationalism would raise eyebrows at the touch of amused condescension (inevitable at the time) in Andrews. The story of Agoonack, the Esquimaux Sister begins "What is this odd looking mound of stone?....You will laugh when I tell you it is not an oven but a house." (26) However, the book was a fresh, childlike approach. A much longer and far more convincing story was HANS BRINKER OR THE SILVER SKATES, by Mary Mapes Dodge. It was immediately popular here, it was widely translated, and it brought Dodge the Montyon Literary Prize of the French Academy. Moreover, some children read it today, in spite of its periodic outpouring of facts by a mechanism not essential to the story----an inevitable outcropping of the urge to instruct. However, there is a highly dramatic and romantic plot, with attractive characters. If the author overemphasizes the "queerness" of Holland, she had done her prodigious homework well and carefully makes the "strangeness" seem an outgrowth of the country's very special physical geography and its history. Thus, as Goodrich and Abbott had called children's attention to the world abroad with their pleasant if contrived rambles, the gifts of Andrews and Dodge represent the first substantial fictional treatment of individual children of other countries.

Like the swing of a pendulum came a wash of tearful sentimentality and a surge of pride in plucky, lucky perseverance. For girls, the weeping began with the publication of THE WIDE WIDE WORLD (1850) by Susan Bogart Warner, who wrote as "Elizabeth Wetherall", her QUEECHY followed in 1852. The sweetly religious heroines of these books suffered and wept much, as did their young readers, who were capitvated by Warner's lively writing and her eye for pleasant homely detail. Boston librarian Alice M. Jordan has pointed out that "Susan Warner seems to have been the first writer to combine for girls in their teens American characters with the national background". (27) In 1854, THE LAMPLIGHTER by Maria Cummins was published, a sage of an 8-year-old alone in Boston slums, which formed another link in the chain of tearful, put-upon, but ultimately triumphant girls, mostly gentle orphans making their way in a harsh world.

Capitalizing on the penchant of young females for wallowing in tears, ELSIE DINSMORE struck her first chord of success in 1867. She was the pious, priggish, enormously popular creation of Martha Farquharson Finley (who sometimes wrote without the Finley). Girls followed Elsie out of childhood and into the traditional roles of ....GIRLHOOD,....WIFEHOOD,....MOTHERHOOD, even....WIDOWHOOD, and came at last to GRANDMOTHER ELSIE, as volume after volume spurted in turn from a pen dripping with the sentimental rightousness which was satisfying to the period. Finely's later series did not quite share Elsie's success. Although some little girls in the 20th century's first quarter were still enjoying the Elsie books, she carries no conviction today, except as a period piece.

While the girls of the time were enjoying lachrymosity the boys were being indoctrinated in the "rags to riches" whirl which lasted until the turn of the century and beyond. William Taylor Adams ("Oliver Optic") encouraged Horatio Alger to write, and first published in his magazine STUDENT AND SCHOOLMATE, Alger's RAGGED DICK OR STREET LIFE IN NEW YORK WITH THE BOOTBLACKS (it ran serially, January-December, 1867). Alger was prolific and successful, and his novels, while hardly literature, created the much admired stereotype of hard-working newsboy or bootblack or some other ubiquitous, exploited youngster whose life is imperiled by urban crime and usually capped by some marvelously fortuitous bit of heroism---snatching a baby from a burning building, or a lady from the heels of a runaway horse--and being lavishly rewarded by the wealthy, grateful father or husband. Alger's simple formula was unvarying: poor boy + hard work + luck = material success, but it sold millions of copies of his books, and gained considerable money for this well meaning clerghman's favorite charity, the Newsboy's Loding House in New York.

In contrast to Alger's materialistic gospel, consider the development of "The American Family Story". (28) Jacob Abbott created the earliest realistic fiction about children, and 25 years later, Louisa May Alcott was writing the first substantial and lasting novels of natural family life. Her astringent realism is the capstone of a structure which had been gathering since those pleasant Franconia stories. Before, during, and after her time, there were less famous authors of this literary form: Adeline Dutton Train Whitney ("Mrs. A.D.T. Whitney"), Rebecca Clarke ("Sophie May"), and Sarah Chauncey Woolsey ("Susan Coolidge") all wrote wholesome, attractive stories, some of them a touch moralistic, but fresh and genuine in their atmosphere, and popular in their time. It is Bronson Alcott's second daughter who somehow towers above her generation.

LITTLE WOMEN was published in 1868. Its success was immediate, and carries over into America's Bicentennial. It has been widely translated into familiar and (to us) unfamiliar languages, from Spanish to Bengali, Maratha, Gujarati, and others all along the way. Children across the world may go on forever reading about the March girls, who were of course, Louisa and her three sisters, lightly veiled in fiction. Its appeal has mystified some critics. The book has no plot, technically, but it begins simply and ends satisfyingly, the children behave and misbehave as children do, the people are like those one knowns. By now it has the added interest of historical fiction, for although its contemporary events are not specifically delineated, the days and ways are different enough to charm.

Jo's insistence on her freedom to work and write as she chooses sounded a refresing note for Victorian girls. The book has had its detractors, but in its century-plus, it has set standards, established a form of fiction, and entranced innumerable children. She would write 34 books in all, the better known being AN OLD-FASHIONED GIRL (1870), LITTLE MEN (1871), EIGHT COUSINS (1875), and its sequel ROSE IN BLOOM (1876), UNDER THE LILACS (1878), JACK AND JILL (1880), and JO'S BOYS AND HOW THEY TURNED OUT (1886). Her stories all did well, many lasted into the 20th century, and some are still making children happy, though none collected so much love as LITTLE WOMEN. In the few years of Louisa Alcott's writing (she died when she was 56) her books brough comfort to a society worn by a divisive war, she gave the American family world-wide stature, and she made it clear for all time that children are best treated naturally and with respect, in fiction as in life.

If Alcott wrote the century's most significant piece of fiction for girls, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, working on a smaller scale nevertheless in 1870 established somewhat the same mood, in his STORY OF A BAD BOY. It had no extreme popularity; perhaps the cardboard heroes of Oliver Optic and Horatio Alger obscured the quieter realism of young Tom Bailey. It brought satisfaction to its own devoted readers, however, and gave the record a bright picture of a mischievous New England childhood.

Concurrently with the development of individual writers, the 19th century brought to flower the concept of periodical publications for children. Religious and didactic serials had been gaining in strength since the beginning of this period, but at the same time, there grew a quite different kind of magazine; that designed for the pleasure of children. Granted, most examples echoed the adults' inevitable hope to improve the behavior of young readers, but their most succesful editors were gifted men and women who felt deeply the need to support literary excellence.

The first such journal was THE JUVENILE MISCELLANY, which began in 1826 with Lydia Maria Francis Child as its first editor. Her choices were appealing to children (in 1830 she published Sarah Josepha Hale's poem MARY'S LAMB) but her abolitionist views offended the adults, and she was forced to abandon editorship. Mrs. Hale (who also edited GODEY'S LADEY'S BOOK) took over, and the magazine lasted until 1836.

A notable 1827 beginning was that of YOUTH'S COMPANION, America's longest-lived magazine (so far); it lasted, with name changes and mergers until 1929. The century's most impressive authors contributed. Distinguished Europeans shared with pages with Louisa May Alcott, Mark Twain, Oliver Wendall Holmes, Whittier, and Longfellow, in this landmark magazine "For All the Family".

In 1865, OUR YOUNG FOLKS began under the joint editorship of two poets, Lucy Larcom and James Townsend Trowbridge, and briefly Mary A. Dodge ("Gail Hamilton"). Larcom and Trowbridge became a successful team, bringing the work of the period's best writers to children. Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, and Whittier contributed. The issue of February 1865 carried Celia Thaxter's poem, THE SANDPIPER, which continued to speak to several generations of children in the special voice for natural history which was the hallmark of this New England woman's gift. Trowbridge's "Darius Green and His Flying Machine" was first published there. Lucretia Hale's "Peterkin Papers" began there, dreamy nonsense to refresh children tired of more sober, sensible fare.

Horace E. Schudder, who later edited THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, edited the much respected RIVERSIDE MAGAZINE for children. In the three years of its life (1867-1870) it set the highest of literary standards, publishing such writers as Frank Stockton, Edward Everett Hale, and Mary Mapes Dodge, and featuring Winslow Homer among other famous illustrators. After THE RIVERSIDE MAGAZINE expired, Scudder edited for Houghton Mifflin the Riverside Literature Series for Young People, which extended his high aims and superior literary taste into the 20th century.

Perhaps the most influential of all American children's magazines was ST. NICHOLAS. It had the second longest existence, extending with mergers and absorptions, from 1873 regularly until 1939, with final death notice in 1943. In 1873 Charles Scribner purchased OUR YOUNG FOLKS for combination with his new venture, and for the next 32 years, ST. NICHOLAS: A MAGAZINE FOR BOYS AND GIRLS flourished under the editorship of Mary Mapes Dodge; her first Assistant Editor was Frank Stockton. It was part of Dodge's design for children to have the period's finest writers to participate, and she thus brought to children such Europeans as Hans Christian Andersen, Rudyard Kipling, and Kenneth Grahame, along with the Americans Longfellow, Lowell, William Cullen Bryant, Emerson, and Thoreau. Naturalist John Burroughs wrote for ST NICHOLS; Louisa Aloctt was a consistent contributor, and three of her books were first published serially in the magazine; the "Brownies" of Palmer Cox capered frequently over its pages.

Mary Mapes Dodge, writing in SCRIBNER'S MONTHLY before the appearance of the first issue of ST NICHOLAS, not only laid out clearly the finest objectives for a children's magazine, but also stated an enduring philosophy of children's literature: "In a word, pleasant breezy things may linger and turn themselves this way and that. Harsh, cruel facts--if they must come, and sometimes it is important that they should---must march forward boldly, say what they have to say, and go. The ideal children's magazine, we must remember, is a pleasure-ground where butterflies flit gayly hither and thither; where flowers quitely spread their bloom; where wind and sunshine play freaks of light and shadow... Wells and fountains there may be in the grounds, but water must be drawn from the one in right, trim, bright little buckets; and there must be no artifical coloring of the other, nor great show-cards about it, saying, 'Behold! a fountain.' Let its own flow and sparkle proclaim it." (29)

There were other periodicals for the pleasure of the young, shorter-lived, memorable only because a talented hand once steered them briefly, (like Samuel Goodrich's experience with PETER PARLEY'S MAGAZINE, and its descendant, MERRY'S MUSEUM, which Louisa Alcott edited for a little while)or because a famous bit outlived its original medium (like THE LITTLE PILGRIM, which first published John Greenleaf Whittier's "Barefoot Boy"). WIDE AWAKE, which first published Margaret Sidney's FIVE LITTLE PEPPERS was eventually merged with ST. NICHOLAS.

In their development, the children's magazines formed curious and long-lasting relationships in the period of their flowering. There was a kind of yeastiness about them, and they worked about in the world of American letters, turning up along with the inevitable lightweights the writers of lasting import. They stimulated and changed the shape of that world, they broadcast literature directly to children before libraries were widespread, and they projected the prevailing culture---a combination of New England's philosophies and New York's social and commercial values towards children who would be adults in the next century.

D. Discovery and Development: 1875-1924

As the country's second century began, Americans were at last writing for children as discriminating readers, and the children, in turn, stimulated a vigorous flow of creativity. The anniversary year itself brought a great novel, and this was in some sense symbolic, for it was in fiction that the new century would bring the greatest development. Consciousness of the world scene produced a fresh spate of travel books, family stories continued in pleasureable variety, and romantic adventure tales and historical fiction proliferated. The literature of imagination gathered strength in three significant forms: the mines of folklore were worked for an important yield, some original fantasy bubbled up, and there was the increasing enchantment of poetry along with a burst of rollicking nonsense verse. Factual writing came slowly; there was some interest in history, a beginning in biography; science was sparsely covered, but there were some noticeable reflections of respect for the natural world. There was a small stir about crafts. American artists began to find the satisfactions of illustrating books for children. And finally, as the 19th century ended and the 20th got under way in the wake of a veritable flowering of children's literature, curators of the books found new and valuable ways of bringing them to the children.

While the most distinguished landmark of the 19th century's last quarter was surely THE ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER (1876), most parents looked far more cordially at another book of that year, which ironically receives little attention today. THE BOYS OF '76: A HISTORY OF THE BATTLES OF THE REVOLUTION by Charles Carleton Coffin, was spirited writing for its time and represented a new approach to history. In 1875, Thomas Wentworth Higginson had published his admirable YOUNG FOLKS' HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. It was an immediate success, was translated into several languages, and in 1879 was adopted by the Boston public schools. Coffin's book was in harmony with the new mood of substantial, reportorial style of history for young people, but he draped his facts about a structure of pleasant, believable characters, and thus his book was an effective bridge between Higginson's more textbook-like approach and the colorful historical fiction that was to come in the next decades. Coffin, who had been the BOSTON HERALD's Civil War correspondent, brought his reporter's eye for news to bear on other periods of history, and produced also OLD TIMES IN THE COLONIES (1880), BUILDING THE NATION (1883), and THE BOYS OF '61 (1884). Except for these and the work of John Bonner, mentioned earlier, there was little historical writing.,

Interest in facts took the form of a fresh outcropping of books about other countries, much closer to real fiction than the travelogues of Goodrich and Abbott. The most esteemed writers of this genre were Horace Scudder, Hezekiah Butterworth, Thomas Wallace Knox, Edward Everett Hale and his sister Susan, and Elizabeth Champney.

Scudder's books about the travelling Bodleys appeared between 1875 and 1885, and were acclaimed for years thereafter. The Bodley family was lively and attractive, the characterization more skillful than that of Schudder's predecessors, and while the geographic information was ever-present, there was also much of the entertaining kind of incident one expects of youngsters. Butterworth's success with his ZIGZAG JOURNEYS IN EUROSE in 1880, and continued through a total of 17 books which represented intellectual exploration of legends, folklore, and history of the countries "visited" more than actual travel. On the other hand, the characters of Knox's books did travel extensively throughout some three dozen volumes, carefully written, instructive, and showing perception of cultural differences. The Hales produced five pleasant books about the fictitious Horners in the FAMILY FLIGHT series, published between 1881 and 1883. They were able and polished literary practitioners who gave a slightly different flavor to their books, as they wrote in lively reminiscence of their own fortunate and leisured travel. Champney, writing for an older group, created between 1883 and 1898 some 40 books, largely in series. The most successful of these featured the travelling "Vassar Girls", who in 11 volumes nearly covered the globe during their college holiday trips for the inevitable purposes of "amusement and instruction". Her later "Witch Winnie" series (1891-1898) delineates the adventures of artistic romantic young girls, also peripatetic. These were not the only travel writers of the 19th century, but they were the most prolific. The books entertained and instructed, and they undoubtedly opened the eyes of the children who read them. Today they seem stodgy, artificial, wordy, or out-of-date.

Much later, the same urge to satisfy children's curiosity about their counterparts abroad and in times past, accounts for the "Twins" series of Lucy Fitch Perkins. In 1911 THE DUTCH TWINS set a pattern which became familiar, and so successful that Perkins began another series with THE PURITAN TWINS in 1921. These are not profound books, but they are pleasant, informative, and well filled with adventure. They are lineal descendents of the early travel books, more than travelogues, attractive and useful, but not quite independent, creative literature.

If American juvenile fiction actually came of age in 1876 with the publication of THE ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER by Mark Twain, not all of his contemporaries recognized that fact, nor even accepted Samuel Clemens as a wrtier for children. While the realism of small boy naughtiness must have been patent, many persons thought the book's language too frank. While the living was too forthrightly detailed for some American Victorians, other readers recognized it for what it is--faithful portraiture of small-town boyhood. Children read it whenever they could lay hands on it; later, far-seeing librarians like Caroline Hewins of Hartord recommended it for children, and now we see it as a brilliantly appropriate landmark for America's 100th birthday.

There was still emphasis on family stories, though as the years progressed, writers gained skill in weaving several themes into one novel. Laura E. Richards who ultimately would be better known for her verse, wrote some family stories, the "Hildegard" series, whose popularity with girls began with their appearance in the 1880's and lasted into the early 1900's. Sarah Orne Jewett's short stores and one novel, BETTY LEICHESTER (1890) were satisfying creations. In 1929 the novel was reissued, and in 1963, Barbara Cooney's sensitive pictures for an individual edition of "The White Heron" brought new readers to enjoy Jewett's quiet artistry.

The fame of two women rests upon a relatively small amount of fiction, but it is substantial enough to keep children reading the books today. Kate Douglas Wiggin's REBECCA OF SUNNYBROOK FARM (1903) is the story of an indomitable child, probably the most refreshing, remarkable characterization since the March girls. The story of her transfer from a family life of genteel poverty but with 6 devoted siblings, to the stultified household of her maiden aunts gives a satisfying picture of a sturdy young female who meets major trials with verve and originality. Even in the 1970's, Rebecca is still being hailed with enthusiasm.

It is not possible to treat Frances Hodgson Burnett as a wholly American writer, for she was born English; however, she lived and wrote in the United States for years, and we thus lay fortunate partial claim to her. In 1885, her LITTLE LORD FAUNTLEROY ran as a serial in ST. NICHOLAS. Today its mannered sweetness evokes amusment oftener than admiration, but it was popular for many years. The contrast between it and Mark Twains' ADVENTURES OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN, which was published the same year, is provocative, for these books actually bestride two ways of writing; Little Lord Fauntleroy is the epitome of romantic sentimentalism, while Huck foreshadows the naturalistic portrayals of children and their problems which would develop in the 20th century. Burnett's next two books are a better match for today's moods. A LITTLE PRINCESS (1905) developed from an earlier story and play; its thousands-of-years-old Cinderalla theme, set in Victorian London, pleases little girls as much as it ever did. THE SECRET GARDEN (1910) is high adventure, with strange noises in the night, the tantalizing mystery of the garden, and Dickon's moor animals, but it is also adventure of the spirit, as two willful, disagreeable children struggle out of their egocentric worlds. She wrote other books, but these two are the lasting favorites.

They came close to historical fiction because of the clear pictures they give of their time. However, the period produced a number of other works which fit that category more precisely. On the borderline is the New England teacher Jane Andrews who, following her success with the geographical "seven little sisters", turned to history touched with fiction in 1885, with TEN BOYS WHO LIVED ON THE ROAD FROM LONG AGO TILL NOW.

In 1882 THE PRINCE AND THE PAUPER by Mark Twain was published, a brilliant tapestry of 16th century London, with its cruel economic contrasts, as background for a brief, secret, exchange of roles by the boy Edward VI and a young beggar double. This second novel of Clemens was greeted with all the approbation initially withheld from THE ADVENTURE OF TOM SAWYER. His third book THE ADVENTURES OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN (1885) is of course adventure, but we also think of it as historical fiction because of its evocative treatment of river-town life. The once-active question of whether it is a juvenile book is seldom raised now; young people have been reading it ever since it was published.

Howard Pyle wrote two substantial novels in this period. OTTO OF THE SILVER HAND (1888) tells of a courageous boy in feudal Germany, caught up in the drama, harshness, and color of the Middle Ages. MEN OF IRON (1892) is a strong character study set in the vivid background of 15th century England with full-bodied adventure and fast action. Pyle's own handsome evocative illustrations interpret and extend these stories. Caroline Dale Snedeker re-created ancient Greece in THE SPARTAN (1912) and THERAS AND HIS TOWN (1924) and continued to write for many years for a large group of readers. Several men combined rousing adventure with history around the world. Thomas Janvier's AZTEC TREASURE HOUSE (1890) has the excitement of a quest, the mystery and tange of an unfamiliar culture, and the insistent brutality of American frontier-type fighting, transposed to old Mexico. MASTER SKYLARK (1897) by John Bennett lasted well into the 20th century, a rewarding story of Shakespeare's England and a boy's adventures with the romantic troupe of players. Stephen Meader began a long writing career with the publication of THE BLACK BUCCANEER (1920), inspired by tales of the Carolina coast's pirates. Also in 1920 came the first of sea stories by Charles Boardman Hawes, THE MUTINEERS, which was followed by THE GREAT QUEST in 1921 and his most widely acclaimed book, THE DARK FRIGATE in 1923.

As writers discovered how to share the American past, children gained substantial access to our history. Diplomat Thomas Nelson Page wrote primarily for adults, but out of his own childhood memories of life on a Virginia plantation during the Civil War, he created in TWO LITTLE CONFEDERATES (1888), a revealing and sympathetic but objective picture of children living out the grueling years of their adults' war. John Bennett's BARNABY LEE (1902) re-creates the time of Peter Stuyvesant and his surrender of New Amsterdam. Joseph Altscheler in a series of novels gave children an awareness of the French and Indian Wars, the Civil War, and the challenge of opening a wilderness to civilization; THE YOUNG TRAVELLERS (1907) and THE GUNS OF BULL RUN (1914) are among those still being recommended by librarians in the 1940's. George Bird Grinnell, as a result of his life on Indian reservations, produced a number of books reflecting his respect for Indian culture and tradition, among them WITH THE INDIANS IN THE ROCKIES (1912) and SINOPAH THE INDIAN BOY (1913). Cornelia Meigs began a succession of distinguished regional novels in 1916 with MASTER SIMON'S GARDEN, which carries a colonial family into the complexity of the Revolution. Another regional observer was Elsie Singmaster, who interpreted the color and characters of her native Pennsylvania German countryside in many novels; she also gave us a remarkable early story of the Underground Railroad and its importance in the Civil War in A BOY AT GETTYSBURG (1924).

Along with the coming of age of juvenile novels in this period, another of the fictive arts matured also, as American writers following the lead of Nathaniel Hawthorne, explored the rich veins of folklore. The poet Sidney Lanier was celebrated also for his children's versions of ancient British hero legends. THE BOY'S KING ARTHUR (1880) is an adaptation from Malory's MORTE d'ARTHUR. Clearly Lanier wrote it because he loved the old tale, and he edited it with devotion and good intentions, using brackets to clarify unfamiliar words. It it is not widely read today, still it served its purpose in awakening the imaginations of two generations, transmitting knighthood's ideals and pagenatry to boys as far removed from the 14th century's mannered valor as the original 6th century Arthur was from Malory's later romancing.

An Indiana writer, James Baldwin, was among the first to make the great European hero tales accessible to children, as he edited and re-worked elements of the stark northern sagas and of the romantic Frankish legends to produce THE STORY OF SIEGFRIED (1882) and later THE STORY OF ROLAND.

Again and again, in these years, the name of Howard Pyle appears, for he was an extraordinary man of multiple gifts: folklorist, short story writer, historical novelist, artist/illustrator, and teacher. In 1883 THE MERRY ADVENTURES OF ROBIN HOOD appeared in book form. Pyle had already had some success as an illustrator for ST. NICHOLAS, and when another magazine, HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE, began in 1879, it carried both Pyle's pictures and his early Robin Hood stories, over several years. The book version was a stunning success, for Pyle's superb pictures enhanced his brisk tales of adventure among the romantic outlaws of Sherwood Forest. For the next 20 years he added to the richness of American literature, his artistry culminating in the impressive four volumes of the Arthurian cycle: THE STORY OF KING ARTHUR AND HIS KNIGHTS (1903), THE STORY OF THE CHAMPIONS OF THE ROUND TABLE (1905), THE STORY OF SIR LAUNCELOT AND HIS COMPANIONS (1907), and THE STORY OF THE GRAIL AND THE PASSING OF ARTHUR (1910). In this monumental group, Pyle preserved the mood and fiber of legend, as he reworked and embellished it with his own view of the characters. As in all his work, his artist's spirit shows in both language and pictures.

After Washington Irving's promising re-creations from American folk tales, it is strange that so long a period elapsed before another reteller came along. Joel Chandler Harris drew upon the traditional lore of the black people of the American South, and Dodge published his stories in ST. NICHOLAS. His first book, UNCLE REMUS: HIS SONGS AND SAYINGS, was published in 1880. He developed a warm-hearted, sympathetic black character in his elderly raconteur whose eager listener is a small boy. The tales are a fascinating, humorous mixture, fragments of the old beast fables, variants of the African trickster rabbit themes.

Children have enjoyed their inherent drama, sly wit, and the triumph of the clever ones. Some black persons today have found in the dialect and in the slave relationship, offensive reminders of the past's injustices; however, the tales are a cultural heritage, and Harris gave them new literary form and significance.

Recognition of the richness of American Indian lore came again in 1904 with THE NEW WORLD FAIRY BOOK, by Howard Angus Kennedy. Frank Linderman's INDIAN WHY STORIES (1915) was an early collection of this variety of story, whose clever explanations spark young curiosities. Frances Jenkins Olcott, a Pittsburgh librarian, also realizing the appeal Indian tales have for children, put together THE RED INDIAN FAIRY BOOK (1897). She arranged it ingeniously by months, and gave the tribal source for each of the 64 stories. Elizabeth De Huff went to Pueblo Indian children themselves for her TAYTAY'S TALES (1922) and they were handsomely illustrated by two Indian boys. A notable book at the end of the period was the work of Charles Finger, who in his South American travels, collected material directly from the Indians of several countries; his TALES FROM SILVER LANDS was published in 1924.

Closely related to folklore is the development of magic and fantasy in fiction, an art form not easy to master. Interestingly enough, early writers were most successful with the short story, and the work of two men dirst drew attention in periodicals: Howard Pyle's in ST. NICHOLAS and HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE, and Frank Stockton's in ST. NICHLAS and RIVERSIDE MAGAZINE.

Pyle's magic tales are fiction after the manner of Hans Christian Andersen, for like Andersen he appropriated the drama and vitality of traditional literature for his own purposes. The first collection was PEPPER AND SALT, OR SEASONING FOR YOUNG FOLK (1885), stories and verse complemented by his own abosrbing, entrancing pictures. His art is as true and evocative of animals as of people, as with a peacock so marvellously detailed one does not miss the color, or the view of Farmer and Wise Men drowsing, plump and comfortable beside a fire that crackles almost audibly. THE WONDER CLOCK, OR FOUR AND TWENTY MARVELLOUS TALES, BEING ONE FOR EACH HOUR OF THE DAY came in 1887. In its

Preface, Pyle tells of his discoveries in "Time's garrett", where are "all manner of queer forgotten things which had been laid away, nobody but Time and his Grandmother could tell where". (30)

Frank Stockton's genius lay in his design and control of a fresh kind of magic: audacious, sometimes wry, often trickly with double meanings, always charming. The short stories in ST. NICHOLAS were, on the face of the matter, meant for children, but were compelling beyond the age-range. There were several collections: THE FLOATING PRINCE AND OTHER FAIRY TALES (1881), THE BEE-MAN OF ORN AND OTHER FANCIFUL TALES (1887), and a newly illustrated edition of THE STORYTELLER'S PACK. A FRANK R. STOCKTON READER (1968) testifies to the viability of this early master of fantasy. He could create new beings like the babbling Ninkum in "The Castle of Bim", or toy with time as in "The Bee-Man of Orn". His whimsy charmed magic-hungry children, his smooth wit and subtle philosophizing captivated adults, and his unpredictable characters and provocative situations satisfied all ages.

Pyle and Stockton represent the successful beginnings of fantasy, up to this point a weak element in American juvenile literature, and they are read today. The work of Charles Carryl has not lasted so long, although DAVY AND THE GOBLIN (ST. NICHOLAS, 1885) survived into the 1920's and a bit beyond. It is worth noting as the first American book-length fantasy with that much staying power. A pleasantly inventive tale reminiscent of ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND, it had its own childlike nonsense, without Lewis Carroll's genius.

In 1900 appeared a book which would enchant most children and irritate some librarians for years to come: THE WONDERFUL WIZARD OF OZ by Frank Baum, a sometime actor, travelling salesman, writer and editor who first told stories about the characters of Oz to his own children. The book was an immediate best-seller, and in 75 years has sold millions of copies. Baum's son has pointed out that the only American prototypes of his father's story were Cristopher Cranch's LAST OF THE HUGGERMUGGERS AND KOBBOLTOZO. (31) However, Baum has survived as Cranch did not. THE WONDERFUL WIZARD was followed by dozens of sequels and companion volumes, none so well done as the first 5 or 6, which are lively and melodramatic, but also kindly, humorous, and satisfying; with such qualities, the children have not asked for profoundity of character, or literary merit.

In 1918, Edward Frederic Benson's DAVID BLAIZE AND THE BLUE DOOR caught the fancy of children and librarians, who continued enthusiastic about this mixture of nonsense and magic into the 1940's; however, it is not well known today.

Hugh Lofting, an Englishman transplanted to the United States, repeated the pattern familiar in literary history, of an adult who tells or writes stories for individual children (in this case, his own) and later transposes them into a book for others. THE STORY OF DR. DOLITTLE (1920) is the first about a genial English physician with the remarkable faculty of talking with animals; THE VOYAGES OF DR. DOLITTLE came in 1922. These two were followed by seven other volumes, less cleverly done, although all of the books have been much loved by children. However, an element of careless, probably unconscious racism was early on offensive to some librarians, and has recently brought opprobrium from a larger group of protesters.

In 1922 Carl Sandburg's ROOTABAGA STORIES came with a new kind of laughter. Some children still enjoy these highly original fairy tales mixing nonsense, fantasy, and reality, especially when they are read aloud.

Probably the most popular animal subject in fiction over the years has been the dog. BEAUTIFUL JOE by Marshall Saunders was issued in 1894 by the American Baptist Publication Society. It reduced many children to grief, and opened many eyes to mankind's cruelty to animals; it won a Prize Competition of the American Humane Education Society. Also tragic, though perhaps more substantial literary fare, was BOB, SON OF BATTLE (1898) by Alfred Ollivant, Jack London created convincing and memorable dogs--Buck of THE CALL OF THE WILD (1903) and White Fang who gave his name to a book. Naturalist John Muir wrote a beguiling true story, STICKEEN (1909) about a courageous little dog who refused to let a glacier defeat him; it was newly illustrated in 1973. Albert Payson Terhune's LAD, A DOG (1919) was not originally written for children, but as in so many other cases, they read it with joy.

The animal stories of Thornton Burgess are a curious link between fantasy and realism. the OLD MOTHER WEST WIND STORIES, beginning in 1910 continued for a total of seven much-loved volumes. They are, of course, talking beast tales, but they were written by a man who was a naturalist and familiar with the principles of ecology we are learning about today. Burgess's characters, Hooty the Owl, Reddy Fox, Jimmy Skunk, and Peter Rabbit (what else could his name have been?) gossip and chatter like humans, but they behave like animals, and the incidence of intrigue and enmity among them is based on the recognition that animals prey upon each other.

Burgess's realism was a manifestation of the growing respect for the natural world which had become evident toward the end of the century, in the work of Ernest Thompson Seton, WILD ANIMALS I HAVE KNOWN (1898), a collection of his animal biographies, brought him world acclaim. His books have lasted, and recently two of the most famous, THE BIOGRAPHY OF A GRIZZLY (1900) and MONARCH THE BEAR (1904) were reissued together as KING OF THE GRIZZLIES (1972).

Except for Seton's works, which were actually aimed at older readers, there were few children's books about science; it was considered and teated as a subject for school study in textbooks, Representative of books to help children relate to the world they could observe were a few still being recommended in the 1940; Neltje Blanchan's BIRDS THAT HUNT AND ARE HUNTED (1904), Edith Patch's HEXAPOD STORIES (1920) which gave brief views on insects' life cycles, and THE STARS FOR CHILDREN (1922) by Gaylord Johnson.

History and biography came only slowly and in small doses. A group of biographies, the "Young Folks' Series of History" by George Makepeace Towle (published between 1880 and 1883), included MARCO POLO, MAGELLAN, DRAKE, VASCO DA GAMA, RALEIGH, AND PIZARRO. These did not survive; like most of the informational books of the time they were textbookish. However, in 1906 there was a more hopeful beginning with the publication of THE BOY'S LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN by Helen Nicolay. She was the daughter of Lincoln's secretary and grew up with the stuff of history. Her first book was developed as a special juvenile version of the massive life of Lincoln which her father and John Hay had co-authored. For nearly thirty years thereafter she wrote solid, careful, biographical and historical material for young people. In 1909, Laura E. Richards turned her attention to the drama in the lives of real people, with FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE: THE ANGEL OF THE CRIMEA, to be followed by ELIZABETH FRY: THE ANGEL OF THE PRISONS 91916) and ABIGAIL ADAMS AND HER TIMES (1917). She was a dedicated writer, lively and sympathetic in her approach, portraying her characters faithfully. As Nicolay had adapted her father's book, so did Albert Bigelow Paine with his own biographies of Mark Twain and later of Joan of Arc. Paine and Clemens were friends, and THE BOY'S LIFE OF MARK TWAIN (1916) reflects that relationship. The most significant historical writing appeared in 1921: THE STORY OF MANKIND, by Hendrik van Loon. It was an original mind-stretching book, popularizing history, but also putting events and people in such perspective as children had not had before. The importance of archaeology was emphasized by the success of Jennie Hall's BURIED CITIES, published in 1922 and revised in 1964; it re-created the early days and the re-discovery of four lost cities: Pompeli, Herculaneum, Olympia, and Mycenae. A different, but also useful book was A CHILD'S HISTORY OF THE WORLD (1924) by Virgil Hillver, an experienced schoolman impatient with some faulty presentations of history previously offereed to children.

Another kind of factual writing appeared in the 1800's, as a forerunner of the 20th century's crafts enthusiasms, with the publication of two books, WHAT TO DO AND HOW TO DO IT: THE AMERICAN BOY'S HANDY BOOK, by Danile Carter Beard (1882) and HOW TO AMUSE YOURSELF AND OTHERS: THE AMERICAN GIRLS'S SHELTERS, SHACKS, AND SHANTIES (1914) was resissued in 1972, still a valuable explicit guide to building in the woods or on the plains.

Like the writing of biography, the art of picture books began slowly in the stream of American creativity, although it was to become a major American achievement later. This discussion makes no distinction between picture books and picture-story books. What we are concerned with is the artist's way of sharing ideas with young children, with only simple text or none at all.

Just about the time that librarians were noticing the need for such books, and in some degree in response to that need, Elmer Boyd Smith produced CHICKEN WORLD AND FARM WORLD, Both in 1910. THE SEASHORE BOOK (1912), THE RAILROAD BOOK (1913) and others followed, for a total of more than thirty; they present information simply and unobtrusively, in pictures of distinction and beauty, with varying amounts of text. Some are now out-of-date, of course, but chickens still look the way they did in 1910; the art is timeless.

Young children somewhat beyond the nursery age were amused by the books of Peter Newell. THE HOLE BOOK (1908) was related to the old toy books, for it tells of a pistol ball fired by a boy, with the seeming result of a hole in each succeeding page to document the ball's progress; THE ROCKET BOOK (1912) repeated the device. The accompanying verse is jingly and undistinguished, but Newell's pictures are funny and colorful.

In 1923 came an artistic landmark comparable to E. Boyd Smith's, with the publication of the A B C BOOK of Charles Buckles Falls. In creating a book for his young daughter, he set a new yardstick for excellence in graphic art for children, with striking animal pictures in dramatic color and design.

Laure E. Richards, (daughter of Julia Ward Howe) wrote nonsense verse after the fashion of Edward Lear, which delighted children as it was published in early issues of ST. NICHOLAS. Later collected in such satisfying volumes as IN MY NURSERY (1890), THE HURDY-GURDY (1902) and a final gem, TIRRA LIRRA: RHYMES OLD AND NEW (1932), it has kept children chuckling up to the present time over magic and fantasy like "The Shark" and "Eletelephony" or the fun in ordinary situations, like "The Postman".

These years include also three writers of no very great literary distinction, who nevertheless captured the public fancy. In GOOPS AND HOW TO BE THEM: A MANUAL OF MANNERS FOR POLITE INFANTS, Gelett Burgess poked fun at undesirable behavior in catchy jingles and clever drawings, some of which appeared first in ST. NICHOLAS and were published in book form in 1900. James Whitcomb Riley's

RHYMES OF CHILDHOOD (1890) gave children a store of homely, often humorous characters who spoke in colorful dialect. Eugene Field's POEMS OF CHILDHOOD (1895) are emotional, sometimes nonsense verse, sometimes sentimental. Some poems of both men have lasted; Riley's "Little Orphan Annie", and "The Raggedy Man", and Field's "Sugar Plum Tree" and "The Duel" (of the Gingham Dog and the Calico Cat) fro examples.

In 1910, John Lomax's COWBOY SONGS AND OTHER FRONTIER BALLADS struck a new note, for Lomax had roamed the South and West collecting his material, which reflected the wistful loneliness as well as the whooping hilarity of the plains and trails. In 1921 and 1922, Louise Pound's two books, POETIC ORIGINS AND THE BALLAD and AMERICAN BALLADS AND SONGS gave more evidence of American creativity; the former book has been more used by adults working with children.

Hilda Conkling's verses stirred readers in 1920, because she was nine years old at the time her mother began to record her spontaneous reactions to the world she was discovering, and which her mother recognized as poetry. Two volumes were published: POEMS BY A LITTLE GIRL, and SHOES OF THE WIND (1922).

The books of two gifted lyricists marked the early 1920's. Elizabeth Madox Roberts's UNDER THE TREE shared with children the moods and discoveries of a perceptive woman who must have been a happy, delightful child. Young readers and listeners still respond to her poems, like "The Butterbean Tent", "Firefly", and "Crescent Moon"; they are deceptively simple, full of subtle artistry. Someone else who wrote directly from a child's point of view was Rachel Field. Her first book of poetry was THE POINTED PEOPLE (1924), and others were to come later, including the still-favorite TAXIS AND TOADSTOOLS (1926). Her poems speak of the color and excitement of city life, as in "Taxis" and "City Rain", of the power and mystery of the fairy world, as in "The Visitor", and of our kinship with nature, as in "Barefoot Days", or the poignant "Dancing Bear". Later this versatile woman was to write award-winning fiction for children, as well as her absorbing adult novels.

We have seen that as the country came to rest after the bitter and division Civil War, its relative peace and leisured security were reflected in a literature of romantic substance and strengthening realism. Once the literary themes of family life, adventure, and realism were established in such books as LITTLE WOMEN and THE ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER, their very existence stimulated other writers not only to emulate, but to originate new forms.

The final years of the 19th century saw two curiously dissimilar movements in the stream of children's books; a swirl of "formula fiction" in the manner of Horatio Alger only more so----and a surge of genuine creativity.

The phenomenon of the commercially organized series fiction which has lasted into our own time, is typified in the activities of Edward M. Stratemeyer, who "thought them up faster than he could write them, and had to form a syndicate and employ contract writers to help him, as Alexander Dumas had done two centuries earlier...he turned out 800 books, all of which he plotted, outlined, and edited himself," (32) in his lifetime (1862-1930). Some were published under his own name others under his pseudonyms, and still more were done by hack writers also under a variety of pen names. Among Stratemyer's series were "The Hardy Boys", "The Rover Boys", and "Nancy Drew", most of them in the tradition of the old dime novel. Plots are derivative and predicatable, there is no character development, style is inelegant. The protagonists, who live in a secure conservative world are the victims of much violence as the hands of stereotyped villains, and they deal pioulsly and self-righteously with minority members whom they see as a threat to red-blooded Americanism. Millions of these thrillers were bought by youngsters and for youngsters by relatives, if not by libraries. Since Stratemeyer's death, his family and associates continue to grind out their extremely profitable commodity, with offensive racial stereotypes gradually lessening under public pressure. The Nancy Drew books have probably been the most lucrative projects of all; Arthur Prager quotes the astonishing sales figure of 1,500,000 for one year, citing translations into 17 languages over a period of 38 years. (33)

The Garis family began with the Stratemeyer Syndicate and later went on to independent fame. Howard Garis, as "Victor Appleton" executed the "Tom Swift" series and his wife Lillian Garis wrote "The Bobbsey Twins" as "Laura Lee Hope", for the Syndicate. (34) The two Garis children picked up the family trade, and Roger Garis speaks of their household as a "fiction factory", estimating that the four of them probably "turned out more than a thousand books."(35) Howard Garis's greatest success of course came with his Uncle Wiggly stories about a genial rabbit and his animal friends, anthropomorphic, inventive, and full of gentle funning. The first of them appeared January 30, 1910 in THE NEWARK NEWS and he wrote six every week for more than 50 years. (36) They were better fare than Stratemeyer's dime novels, and if they were unoriginal and soporific, they can be said to have "sent children to sleep in security, tranquility, and enchantment". (37)

In contrast to the turn-of-the century's faceless authorship of the syndicate, more substantial children's literature had begun so luxuriant a growth that the decade of the '90's has been described by Alice M. Jordan (38) and others as a "golden age". There were many reasons for this flowering. It bore some relationship to the general creative surge in the wake of our centennial celebration. More directly, it resulted from our increasing knowledge of children and their ways, and from our respect for children as an audience.

As this new wealth of children's literature was growing, those who dealt with books and children reacted to their needs with action in three forms: (a) the development of library services to children, (b) support of children's reading through publishers and community programs, and (c) recognition of the importance of children's literature in critical reviewing, and in awards for excellence in writing.

The earliest of these manifestations, library services to children, began in one form or another, very nearly with the 19th century. The influential Sunday School movement not only produced publications, but supported libraries to collect and disseminate them. A Smithsonian Institution report for 1851 states these works "for juvenile readers are always of a moral or religious tendency, and they have vast influence in forming the intellectual as well as the moral character of the people". (39) These church agencies flourishing by mid-century bore the seed of community concern for how children spent their spare time.

Two other kinds of young peoples' libraries were scattered about the country from the century's earlies years. Estimates vary, but Jesse Shera has indicated that between 1800 and 1850, there were 21 subscription libraries for juveniles in the United States, (40) supported by citizens well-do-do enough to apy individual fees for their children's access to books. The second variety arose from the wish of materially successful persons to ease the way for youngsters of a generation to come. The Bingham Library for Youth established in Salisbury, Connecticut in 1803 by Caleb Bingham, may have been the country's earliest agency of this kind. Usually the service ceased when the donated funds ran out, but in this case, the town itself insured survival by contributing financial support. Harriet Long has commented on the significance of a juvenile library's being the first to receive community support. (41) Other communities followed as the century progressed, and New York State, in 1838 provided matching funds for school libraries. Apprentices' Libraries provided books for children of the working class.

These early efforts bore their first substantial fruit in the last quarter of the 19th century, and two New Englanders were among the memorable pionners. Rhode Island Librarian Minera Saunders in 1877 arranged a pleasant reading corner in the Pawtucket Library especially for children; moreover, she let them borrow books. Caroline Hewins of the Hartford, Connecticut Public Library in 1882 reported to the American Library Association that she had questioned (25) libraries about their work with children. The same year, this redoubtable woman put together the first number of her much respected BOOKS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS, which continued for many years as a substantial aid for less knowledgeable book selectors. The concept of providing books and services to children grew and strengthened during the 1890-1900 decade. It then became the task of such leaders as Anne Carroll Moore of New York, Frances Jenkins Olcott and Elva S. Smith of Pittsburgh, Effie L. Power of

Cleveland, and Alice M. Jordan of Boston, to organize children's departments within city library systems, and to arrange professional education for young librarians.

In 1900 the American Library Association established its Section for Children's librarians. As the century grew older, dedicated workers, (primarily women) developed the idea of library work with children to a high degree of excellence, impressing some scholars beyond the United States. Paul Hazard, for example, pointed out that, "Here is an innovation that does honor to the sensibility of a people, and it is an American innovation: the libraries reserved for children". (42) The prophets have not been without honor in their own country, either, for Robert Leigh credited them with "the classic success of the public library". (43)

Community interest in children's reading was stimulated through the work of Frankline K, Mathiews, Chief Librarian for the Boy Scouts of America, and of Frederick G. Melcher of the American Booksellers Assoication, who with other leaders, established Children's Book Week on 1920. Later the Children's Book Council was organized under the aegis of the trade book publishers to maintain Children's Book Week on a nationwide basis. In another landmark action in 1919, a major publishing house (Macmillan) established the first separate children's book department. Other publishers followed, and the heads of these departments have had strong influence on American juvenile literature.

From the days of Mary Mapes Dodge at ST. NICHOLAS and of Horace Scudder at RIVERSIDE MAGAZINE, and before, there have been specialists who provided some critical reviewing of children's books. In a doctoral dissertation how fortunately in publication, Richard Darling reported his examination of the appearance of such reviewing from an early period. (44) In later years, Anne Carroll Moore was an influential critical reviewer in contemporary journals. In 1916 Bertha E. Mahony (later Miller) opened her "Bookshop for Boys and Girls" in Boston; her work there, the ever popular book lists which she and her staff compiled, were fertile ground for the germination of THE HORN BOOK, "the first magazine published anywhere that concerned itself exclusively with children's books and reading', (45) which Bertha Mahony and Elinor Whitney (later Field) founded in 1924. In 1976, the magazine continued to provide vital support for children's literature in the United States.

In 1921, Frederic Melcher offered to donate a medal to be named for John Newbery and given annually to the writer of "the most distinguished contribution to American literature for children" published in the previous year. Melcher hoped by this means to encourage quality literature. The responsibility for the choice was delegated to the Children's librarians' Section (now the Children's Services Division) of the American Library Association. The first medal was awarded in 1922 to Hendrik van Loon for THE STORY OF MANKIND. The award continues to recognize a yearly prize book and its accompanying "honor guard", chosen by public and school librarians experienced in selecting books for children.

As one surveys the growth of children's literature in the English language, it is clear that the earliest and much of the best in British. Considering the developments in the late 19th century and early 20th, Candian librarian Lillian Smith in 1953 identified those she believed "were most marked and have influenced the trend of writing for children up to the present time," (46) mentioning five areas: folk tales, legends and hero stories, fantasy, everyday and family stories, and historical fiction. Of the 38 books or authors she cites, 16 are American; that seems a remarkable achievement for a country so young.

E. Fruition and Exploration: 1925-1974

As the country neared its sesquicentennial, its writers had established some satisfying themes in children's literature, which they continued to develop in rewarding fashion. They also felt out new subject matter in both fact and fiction. Picture books flowered in handsome profusion. Americans discovered the importance of minority group members as subjects, as readers, and as writers of children's books. Informational books proliferated, along with efforts to share social concerns with children through books; these latter two movements have intensified almost to the point of a new didacticism.

Recognizing the stimulating effect that his John Newbery Award was having on children's literature, Frederick Melcher in 1937 established a companion annual award, the Randolph Caldecott Medal for the Most Distinguished Picture Book, also to be administered by the Children's Services Division of the American Library Assoication, and the first medal was given in 1928 to Dorothy Lathrop for ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE. Three other national awards have been established by group action. Two of them stem from the wish of members of the Children's Services Division to honor influential American women. In 1954, expressing the wish of children's librarians to show their appreciation of the books of Laura Ingalss Wilder (none of which, strangely, had won the Newbery Medal) the Children's Services Division presented to her the first Larua Ingalls Wilder Medal; the Award is now made every five years to an author of illustrator for a whole body of work. In 1967 the Children's Services Division established the Mildred L. Batchelder Award to be made every two years to the publisher of the most outstanding book originally published abroad in a foreign language and subsequently published in English in the United States; this award, which lies outside the province of this survey, honors Miss Batchelder for her long and productive concern to bring fine foreign books to American children. In 1969 the National Book Committee added children's literature to its concerns, and the first National Book Award for Children's literature was given to Meindert de Jong for JOURNEY FROM PEPPERMINT STREET, his nostalgic re-creation of his Netherlands childhood. Nearly a hundred awards and citations are now presented, but these five represent recognition by national groups.

As the kinds and numbers of books increased, and their excellence has been recognized in varying fashions, the necessity has grown to educate librarians and teachers in the evaluation and the use of books with children. Colleges and universities now provide professional education, although the quality varies considerably from superifical coverage in insubstantial courses known as "kiddie lit" to major concentration on the history and development of children's books as part of the mainstream of literature.

The books themselves bubble into print at a nearly overwhelming rate. Paul Hazard commented in wonder that in 1919 in the United States there were "four hundred and thirty-three new works intended for young people; in 1929, nine hundred and thirty-one". (47) The magazine PUBLISHERS WEEKLY reports each February on the number of books issued the previous year, and Hazard would indeed have marvelled during the 1960's when juvenile books pushed the 3000 mark, or even today as we learn that 2,592 were published in 1974. (48) There are now some 40,000 children's books in print in the United States, (49) with a fresh thousand or so already off the presses in 1975. This flood of reading matter makes special demands on our review of America's latest fifty years. Thus far, we have discussed representative books rather in the mood of Jacob Blanck, who for other purposes made a "list of those outstanding books which have withstood the years of change and are favorites still", but who also described some books which "are seldom read these days, but (which) are included because of their positions as milestones in juvenile reading during the past century". (50) Our method had some validity as far as the early 20th century. However, we are too close to the recent output to have perspective, and cannot assess a book's staying power. Therefore for this fifty year period, we shall identify categories and trends, mentioning for each representative books which meet commonly accepted criteria of excellence, without predicting any book's endurance as a classic. The books so discussed are not necessarily the "best" of the period, but all have been favorably reviewed in their time by specialists in children's literature. By 1925, Americans were writing in a number of well-established areas: adventure, animal, and family stories, fantasy, historical fiction, folklore, biography, other kinds of informational books, and picture books. To mention only 3 or 4 books for each category is to unroll an exciting panorama.

Sports stories are the essence of adventure, if one defines adventure as happening. In ALL-AMERICAN (1942) John Tunis told a rousing football tale and at the same time, struck out at racial intolerance, as he did in many other books. Virginia Hamilton drew a spine-tingling adventure story from her won heritage, in THE HOUSE OF DIES DREAR (1968); when a black family moves to Ohio, young Thomas discovers their house has mysterious connections with the long-ago

Underground Railroad. In Jean Craighead George's Newbery Award-winning JULIE OF THE WOLVES (1972) a girl has the adventures! Eskimo Julie, escaping from the dull-witted schoolboy husband whom tradition has forced on her at 13, learns to communicate with a wolf-pack, and thus survives in the winter wildnerness. Wolves emerge as appealing characters in George's book, which was based on her careful study of these much misunderstood animals.

An animal story which Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings did not write specifically for juveniles, but which they have taken with pleasure, concerns another adolescent, Jody Baxter, who in THE YEARLING (1939) comes to terms with tragedy when the fawn he has nurtured and loved must be shot. N.C. Wyeth (who was a pupil of Howard Pyle) illustrated THE YEARLING with superb pictures of Florida's wild country. A totally different kind of animal story, for younger children, is RABBIT HILL (1944) which won the Newbery Medal for Robert Lawson. A gentle fantasy of small creatures of the Connecticut countryside, it is anthropomorphic but charming, with the author's own sensitive, humorous pictures. (Lawson was a dually gifted man who was awarded the Caldecott Medal for THEY WERE STRONG AND GOOD, his 1940 picture-biography of his ancestors.) Allan W. Eckert, in INCIDENT AT HAWK'S HILL (1971) told how a female badger sustained a 6-year-old boy lost in the prairie wilderness for 2 months; based on an 1870 incident near Winnepeg, the story has wildlife details, and emotional satisfaction for readers older than the lost child.

Very early in the present period, Caroline Dale Snedeker added to the widening stream of family stories with DOWN-RIGHT DENCEY (1927); she is a sturdy, vivid little girl who enlivened 19th century Nantucket. In 1932, Laura Ingalls Wilder's LITTLE HOUSE IN THE BIG WOODS appeared, the first of seven books about a pioneer family's successive homes in the Midwest. Based on her own childhood experiences, they are notable for their warmth of human relationships, depth and appeal of characters, and validity of period detail. ALL-OF-A-KIND-FAMILY (1951) by Sidney Taylor, was the first of three books about a loveable lively Jewish family of five little girls (later joined by a baby brother) living at the century's turn on New York's Lower East Side. Our series of family portraits is completed by Virginia Hamilton's

M.C. HIGGINS, THE GREAT (1974). She won both the Newbery Medal and the National Book Award for this story of an engaging black youngster who loves his mountain home in the strip-mining country and tries to alert his family to the threat from an encroaching slag heap; it is an unusual, captivating family.

Fantasy as we have seen was a slowly developing theme in our juvenile literature, but the evidence has come in the past fifty years that Americans know how to handle it. There was James Thurber's MANY MOONS (1943), a tale of the seemingly insatiable longing of a little princess and how it was fulfilled; Louis Slobodkin's pictures won him the Caldecott Medal. In 1952, E.B. White's CHARLOTTE'S WEB wove a farm, a runty pig, a resourceful spider, a not-wholly-villanious rat and a little girl who believes into a piece of timeless magic. White was given the Laura Ingalls Wilder Award for the contribution this and his other books have made to children's literature. Lloyd Alexander has written a total of seven books about Prydain, mythical kingdom based on legends of ancient Wales, which are characterized by adventure, romance, humor, and heroism. THE BOOK OF THREE (1964) was the first; he was awarded the Newbery Medal for THE HIGH KIND (1968). In another fantasy of 1968, A WIZARD OF EARTHSEA, Ursula Le Guin began a triology for older thoughtful readers; Sparrowhawk rashly summons a nameless things which he ultimately must conquer. The third book, THE FARTHEST SHORE (1972) won the National Book Award for Children's Literature. These are fantasies of sweep and power, touched with allegory. MRS. FRISBY AND THE RATS OF NIMH (1971) by Robert O'Brien tells how a widowed mouse, seeking help for her children, contacts some remarkable rats whose one-time laboratory experience has increased their learning potential; they unveil a marvellous, mysterious project. It is a merry, ingenious tale which won the Newvery Medal. O'Brien's death has made impossible any more such news from NIMH subjects.

Historical fiction continues to be combined successfully with other themes. Of many historical adventures, two in particular stand out. CALICO BUSH (1931) by Rachel Field is an atmospheric, convincing story of spirited Marguerite Ledoux's 13th year, when as a "bound-out" girl in 1743, she treks from Massachusetts to Maine with the family she serves, sharing their turmoil and achieving her own peace. In JOHNNY TREMAIN (1943), Esther Forbes viewed the dramatic events of our Revolution through the eyes of a cocky 14-year-old silversmith's apprentice who lives and suffers and grows up in the Boston of 1773; it won the Newbery Medal. An interesting combination of history and fantasy is THE FARAWAY LURS (1963), Harry Behn's poetic handling of a 3000-year-old love story reconstructed from an archaeological site in Denmark, harsh, touching, and beautiful. Two books of 1964 are powerful fictionalized treatments---almost biography----of real persons. Ann Petry in TITUBA OF SALEM VILLAGE provides the picture of a strong woman, a slave from Barbados, who survives the mounting mass hysteria in 1692's Massachusetts witch trials. ISHI, LAST OF HIS TRIBE is Theodora Kroeber's juvenile version of her book about a Yahi Indian who outlives the white man's destruction of his tribe to become the protege of her husband, the anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (Ursula Le Guin is the Kroebergs' daughter). The story of Ishi's transition from his lonely vigil of years in the California mountains, his walk towards what he belives to be the eternity of his ancestors, and his reception in our world, make a moving commentary on our civilization.

The earlier fashion for books about travel abroad has this period manifested itself in fiction about children of other countries in a broader spirit of internationalism. THE TRUMPETER of KRAKOW (1928) by Eric Kelly, combining history and a boy's heroism in 15th century Poland, won the Newbery Medal: a 1966 edition added richness in Polish-American artist Janina Domanska's pictures. POPINA AND FIFINA (1932) a story by poets Arna Bontemps and Langston Hughes, brought the lives of black children in Haiti a bit closer to American children. Kate Seredy's THE GOOD MASTER (1935) is a refreshing tale; tomboy Kate leaves Budapest a headstrong child, but a year of sharing Hungarian festivals and fun on her uncle's farm converts her to pleasant family companionship. In 1959, THE CHEERFUL HEARTY by Elizabeth Janet Gray portrayed an engaging little girl and her family in post-World War II Japan. ZAMANI GOES TO MARKET (1970) by Muriel Feelings with pictures by Tom Feelings, gives a strong sense of place in a satisfying story of an East African village boy's first venture. Johanna Reiss wrote THE UPSTAIRS ROOM (1972) out of her own 1943-45 memories of how Jewish Annie and her sister were hidden by a Gentile farm family in Holland; her day-to-day observations indeed fulfilled Reiss's wish to write a "simple human book".

Today's folklorists follow in the steps of their distinguished predecessors. In 1932, Pura Belpre's translation of a Puerto Rican folktale, PEREZ AND MARTINA, heralded the success of her 1946 collection THE TIGER AND THE RABBIT. In 1959, Virginia Haviland's FAVORITE FAIRY TALES TOLD IN ENGLAND appeared; other popular volumes cover altogether some 16 countries to date, whose folktales are recounted in simple, faithful fashion, and attractivelly illustrated by gifted artiss; a recent title is FAVORITE FAIRY TALES TOLD IN INDIA (1973), with pictures by Blair Lent. Ann Malcolmson's YANKEE DOODLE'S COUNSINS (1941) is a lively group of humorous, skillfully presented vignettes of American folk characters. In THE KNEE-HIGH MAN AND OTHER TALES (1972) Julius Lester retold in a fresh, direct way six animal stories from black American traditional literature; most are funny and instructive, one sad.

The poetry and verse for children published in the past four decades mirrors American creativity as much as any other form of our art. In 1928, Mary Austin's CHILDREN SING IN THE FAR WEST brought flavor and diversity to the literature in such poems as the sound, terrifying ecology of "The Sandhill Crane" and the gentle, relentless wisdom of the Indian who kills only for food, in the prayer "For Going A-Hunting". Pulitzer-Prize winning Gwendolyn Brooks shared her gift with children in BRONZEVILLE BOYS AND GIRLS (1956); "Cynthia in The Snow" reflects a wonder of weather in the city, while "Vern" touches the relationship of a lonely child and a puppy. BEYOND THE HIGH HILLS: A BOOK OF ESKIMO POEMS (1961) is the collection by explorer Knud Rssmussen illustrated by the brilliant color photographs of priest Guy Mary-Roussellierre; the verse, full of imagery and emotion, reveals the poetic spirit of a people. Arnold Adoff's I AM THE DARKER BROTHER: AN ANTHOLOGY OF MODERN POEMS BY NEGRO AMERICANS (1968) is a rich gathering to express the black experience.

In a curious happening, the two prize-winning books of 1939 were lives of American heroes, pointing up the growth and range of American biography. James Daugherty's DANILE BOONE, with the author's handsome pictures, delineated an adventurous life for readers of ten years and older, and won the Newbery Medal. ABRAHAM LINCOLN by Ingri and Edgar d aulaire is authentic, and simple enough for 7-year-olds; its bright appealing lithographs won the Caldecott Medal for the writing/illustrating husband and wife team. Other biographies for the youngest readers include Aliki's A WEED IS A FLOWER (1965), an inviting picture-story of George Washington Carver, illustrated by the author, and lives of two other black leaders by Margaret B. Young, both published in 1967; PICTURE LIFE OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and PICTURE LIFE OF RALPH J. BUNCHE, related in photographs, with brief texts, short sentences, and large type. Typical of recent biographies is Barbara Land's EVOLUTION OF A SCIENTIST: THE TWO WORLDS OF THEODOSIUS DOBZHANSKY (1973), life of the pioneering geneticist who made a tumultuous, triumphant transition from Russia to the academic life and research challenges of American universities.

In writing about "The Artist As Story-Teller", Ruth Hill Viguers mentioned that "By the first half of the thirties the snowball was rolling", and later, "Then came the nineteen-fifties, and the deluge". (51) And so it seems; America's flowering of graphic arts for children came almost with the force of an explosion, and we can call attention to only a few of the brilliant sparks. In 1928 there was Wanda Gag's MILLIONS OF CATS, in which a kind-hearted old man sets out to look for a kitten and comes home with more. The first Caldecott Medal was awarded to Dorothy Lathrop for ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE (1938), in which passages from the King James version are interpreted in lovingly detailed drawings. Robert McClosky's MAKE WAY FOR DUCKLINGS (1941), the tale of a Mallard family which stopped Boston's traffic, won the Caldecott Medal for its author/illustrator, who won it a second time in 1957 for TIME OF WONDER, an evocation of the moods of a Maine island summer. In 1965 Nonny Hogrogian won the Caldecott Medal for her pictures of humor and beauty illustrating Sorche Nic Leodhas's ALWAYS ROOM FOR ONE MORE, interpreting a Scottish folksong. STEVIE (1969) an urban black tale about a small boy's natural reaction to an unwelcome guest has children's own language and stunning color paintings by its young author.

Like picture books, informational books have rushed through the presses at flood speed in these years. Many have been accurate but dull, some have been colorful, sprightly, and influential. It is possible here to identify only a few which are significant for the innovations they represent in the fields of history and geography. In 1932, Gertrude Hartman's THESE UNITED STATES AND HOW THEY CAME TO BE surveyed our history in terms of social and economic developments. TREE IN THE TRAIL (1942) by Holling C. Holling is one of a group by this author/illustrator interpreting history's effects on some object in a changing background, in this book an illuminating view of life on the Santa Fe Trail. Genevieve Foster began with GEORGE WASHINGTON'S WORLD (1941) a series of lively and informative studies each providing tapestry-like background for a central figure. In 1950, Sonia Bleeker's INDIANS IF THE LONGHOUSE initiated her series featuring American Indian tribes. Possibly the earliest significant history of American black people was STORY OF THE NEGRO (1948) by Arna Bontemps; its fifth edition was published in 1969, a careful analysis of history, cultural differences, and individual contributions of black leaders, long relied upon as a source book. Many other treatments have appeared in recent years, one of the most stimulating being a trilogy edited by Milton Meltzer; IN THEIR OWN WORDS, A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO, 1619-1865 (1964), IN THEIR OWN WORDS....1865-1916 (1965), and IN THEIR OWN WORDS....1916-1966 (1967). The individual volumes introduce and quote original sources; letters, journals, and pictures which document the black experience in America with its slow progress from the shame of slavery to the violence of the sixties. A refreshing book of geography appeared in 1959; DESERTS by Delia Goetz, who has continued her lucid expositions of forms and principles with MOUNTAINS, THE ARTIC TUNDRA, GRASSLANDS, RIVERS, and others, the most recent being LAKES (1973). Olivia Coolidge, in WOMEN'S RIGHTS: THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN AMERICA, 1848-1920 (1966), gave an animated account of the battle for rights, with biographical sketches of the women who led it.

Science books of some types appeared in earlier periods, of course, but our own increased knowledge has been reflected in new kinds of writing, and perhaps the books described so briefly below indicate more than those of any other category, how our attitudes towards children have changed. W. Maxwell Reed's THE EARTH FOR SAM (1930) and THE STARS FOR SAM (1931) were informal but also sound and provocative presentations.

BIG THREE (1946) by Mary and Conrad Buff describes the great sequoia Wawona in poetic text and pictures of distinctive beauty which reflect the awesome feel of redwood forests. In THIS IS A TREE (1954) Robert Hutchins began a series of botanical and animal studies remarkable for their close-up photography as well as their rich information; a recent one in SCALY WINGS: A BOOK ABOUT MOTHS AND THEIR CATERPILLARS (1971). Jacob Bronowski and Millicent Selsam, in BIOGRAPHY OF AN ATOM (1965) made clear the life and structure of a carbon atom. COMPUTER: THE MIND STRETCHER (1970) by Weyman Jones explained binary arithmetic, with an informal survey of computer operations. In WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT DRUGS (also 1970) Charles Gorodetzky and Samuel T. Christian, two NIMH physicians, documented their facts with impressive color photographs. Eric Johnson has written books on human biology for three different age levels: LOVE AND SEX AND GROWING UP, wirtten with Corinne B. Johnson (1970; ages 9-11), V.D. (1973; ages 11 up); and LOVE AND SEX IN PLAIN LANGUAGE (rev. ed. 1974; ages 12-16).

Books about crafts and hobbies were at the turn of the century just beginning a popularity which burgeoned in recent years. Most of them have no literary value, but are highly practical guides to activity: collecting dolls, or making bread, or handmade music jug bands. Books to encourage appreciation and participation in art, music, and the theater have also proliferated, and the titles mentioned can only hint at the richness and variety of the resources. In FROG WENT A-COURTIN' (1955) by John Langstaff, Feodor Rojankovsky's bright pictures won him the Caldecott Medal. PASTELS ARE GREAT (1968) by John Hawkinson is an inviting approach to creativity. Arnold Arnold's THE WORLD OF CHILDREN'S GAMES (1972) introduces children and adults to 369 games and variations and their related folklore and history. In Byrd Baylor's WHEN CLAY SINGS (also 1972) pottery fragments offer their own mute testimony to the life and art of the Southwest Indians. PRINTMAKING (1974) by Harlow Rockwell shares this expert's knowledge and his use of easily available materials.

Apart from the categories just discussed, all of which had appeared in some degree in earlier periods, certain kinds of books for children are phenomena of our present time;

"easy reading", a multitude of books about children with problems, science fiction, and books dealing with ecological education.

A new help to teachers and slow-reading children has been the publication of trade books (in contrast to textbooks) for easy reading, with simple, sometimes controlled vocabulary. Among the earliest of these was THE CAT IN THE HAT (1957) by the popular Dr. Seuss, a bright spontaneous story of a ridiculous feline who creates, then sorts confusion. The same year saw the first appearance of Elsa Minarik's LITTLE BEAR, whose family and friends and their anthropomorphic fun has been engagingly pictured by Maurice Sendak. Not only fun but facts have been shared in such books. In Betty Baker's LITTLE RUNNER OF THE LONGHOUSE (1962) a young Iroqois makes his own celebration of the New Year; there are authentic details of tribal ways. Ferdinand J. Monjo has written several such books based on history; in THE DRINKING GOURD (1970) a light-hearted boy encounters sobering tragedy and responsibility in his family's role with the Underground Railroad; POOR RICHARD IN FRANCE (1973) is a witty fictional memoir in which 7-year-old Benny Franklin Bache reports a trip with his famous grandfather. Science too has been successfully presented in this easy format; a recent example is DINOSAUR TIME (1974) by Peggy Parish with Arnold Lobel's realistic full-page drawings; it describes 11 varieties and indicates pronunciations.

In considering books about children with problems, it seems clear that the largest single problem has been the minority child, and the minority most frequently treated is the black one. Many persons have made both comprehensive and selective lists of such books. A quotation from Augusta Baker (now retired) Coordinator of Children's Services in the New York Public Library makes plain their values: "Books can perform a unique function in the plan for intercultural education. They provide a means for gaining knowledge, improving social skills, and influencing attitudes and ways of thinking so that they reinforce each other....Books cannot take the place of first hand contacts with other people. However, they can prepare children to meet people, to discount unimportant differences, and to appreciate cultural traditions and values unlike their own.

The black child is given pride in his heritage at the same time that the white child gains knowledge of another culture and history." (52)

In a sense, the black child shares his central problem with all minorities --- the problem of being different; different color, different language, different ways. An early perceptive story, THE HUNDRED DRESSES (1944) by Eleanor Estes, is about the cruetly Wanda endures because of her "funny foreign name", a cruelty all too often visited on Polish children. Jesse Jackson's young hero in CALL ME CHARLIE (1945) patiently accepts the bitter results of being the only black child in his neighborhood, and the book has thus been rejected by some of today's militant blacks. However, it represents a point in literary history. Poet Arna Bontemps in LONESOME BOY (1955) gave us a piece of literature in a poignant, moving story of a black child of the river country, and his music, MAPLE STREET (1970) by Nan Hayden Agle, tells about 9-year-old Margaret, black, lonely for her moved-away best friend, who turns her energies to improving her Baltimore neighborhood and a poor white family. The year 1972 brought two substantial factual discussions of the problem: Robert Froman's RACISM explores the myths, gives a scientific analysis of race, and centers on black Americans; ages 12 up. THE RIDDLE OF RACISM by Carl Hirsch covers historical developments in race relationships with a dramatic focus on the personalities involved, for ages 11-14. Both are measured, objective treatments. Kristin Hunter's GUESTS IN THE PROMISED LAND (1973) is a set of eleven eloquent short stories which convey aspects of growing up black in a white world.

Animals serve as provocative focus for children's problems. James Streeter's GOOD-BYE MY LADY (1954) is a realistic tale of lonely Clint who finds a mysterious dog, trains her and must give her up when her owner appears. Dave Mitchells' pet, in Newbery-Award-winning IT'S LIKE THIS, CAT (1963) by Emily Neville, is his confidante during a troubled year of tension with his father, the challenges of friendships, and a first girl.

There are harsher fictional problems. Frank Bonham's DURANGO STREET (1965) based on actual black ghetto case records, tells of warfare in the "sad, boisterous and often violent" urban jungle, and makes clear why Rufus had to join a gang or be knifed himself. Two books of 1966 picture girls with varying reactions. In QUEENIE PEAVY by Robert Burch, a self-defeating 13-year-old finally comes to terms with her father's undependability and thus allows herself to succeed. UP A ROAD SLOWLY, Irene Hunt's story of an older girl's growing up, her sensitivity to the family alcoholic, and her first love, won the Newbery Medal. In WHERE THE LILIES BLOOM (1969) by Vera and Bill Cleaver, an indomitable 14-year-old Appalachian girl, orphanned by her father's death, buries him in secret herself, and struggles to keep her family together. THE PLANET OF JUNIOR BROWN (1971) by Virginia Hamilton, is the bitterly knowledgeable, powerful story of one strong boy's care for homeless city children and for his emotionally bankrupt friend, it is disturbing, astringent, hopeful. Lynn Hall's STICKS AND STONES (1972) tells how a lonely 17-year-old in a new school makes friends with the town homosexual and finds his world torn apart by malicious gossip.

Science fiction has captured the imagination of 20th century readers in remarkable fashion. Sylvia Engdahl, herself an able writer of the genre offered some perceptive comments on "The Charging Role of Science Fiction in Children's Literature" in THE HORN BOOK MAGAZINE, October 1971 (pp. 449-455). Our survey attempts no explanation for the phenomenon of popularity, nor can we make any analysis of types other than to note that some novels mix science fiction and fantasy, and the line between is not always clear. Two of the earliest American novels were Robert Heinlein's ROCKET SHIP GALLEO (1947) and RED PLANET: A COLONIAL BOY ON MARS (1949), and PODKAYNE OF MARS: HER LIFE AND TIMES (1963) indicates Heinlein's ingenuity as well as his durability, for it is the story of one of the first and most attractive females in space. Eleanor Cameron's WONDERFUL FLIGHT OF THE MUSHROOM PLANET (1954) was the first of her series mixing in fantasy for the 9-to-11-year-olds. Another fantasy mixture, A WRINKLE IN TIME (1963) by Madeleine L'Engle tells of 3 children's search beyond Earth for their missing scientist father; it was awarded the Newbery Medal. Alexander Key's THE FORGOTTEN DOOR (1965) is the thought-provoking story of young Jon from another planet who on Earth meets enmity as well as sympathy, because he can read minds. THE DARK PIPER (1968) by Andre Norton tells of a few adventurous children who heed the warnings of a realistic refugee from interplanetary war, and survive holocaust. In ENCHANTRESS FROM THE STARS (1970) by Sylvia Engdahl, young people from planets in differing stages of development meet --- a novel with philophical as well as romantic overtones. H.M. Hoover's CHILDREN OF MORROW (1973) tells how, on a California coast long denuded of civilization, two children fleeing their repressive primitive culture, are aided through telepathy by a powerful unknown society.

In recent years, concerned writers have attempted the dual task of sharing information about the problems of our environment and stimulating children's sense of responsibility for constructive action, now and when adulthood brings them increased power. Lawrence Pringle posed the sobering problem in THE ONLY EARTH WE HAVE (1969). Joseph McCoy's SHADOWS OVER THE LAND (1970) examines man as an endangered species, and identifies steps for young conservationists. THE DAY THEY PARACHUTED CATS ON BORNEO (1971) by Charlotte Pomerantz, based on a true incident, is a wittty verse-play with zany pictures, about the effects of DDT spraying. Jean Craighead George's WHO REALLY KILLED COCK ROBIN? (1971) is a provocative ecological mystery story which involves a whole town in discovering why a pet robin died. Ruth Kirk, in YELLOWSTONE: THE FIRST NATIONAL PARK (1974) documents ecology, geological history, and wilderness appeal with map and numerous photographs.

Efforts to show children the responsibilities of world citizenship have taken positive form in the magazines which have come to take the places of the expiring 19th century periodicals. Of those which now serve children, three typify new designs and interests. In 1967, the National Wildlife Federation began publication of RANGER RICK'S NATURE MAGAZINE: its major objective is environmental education. The National Geographic Society, after 53 years of publishing the SCHOOL BULLETIN, announced it would change it to THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC WORLD in the fall of 1975. The spirit of internationalism touches the newest literary magazine also -- CRICKET, whose first issue came in September 1973. While it is published commercially in the United States, its editorial board include English, German, and Canadian scholars as well as American. It is somewhat like ST.

NICHOLAS in its concern for substantial literature and in communication through the "Cricket League", which shares children's own writing and pictures. However, CRICKET so far has done more reprinting of favored material than uncovering of fresh talent, which ST. NICHOLAS under Dodge did so remarkably well.

As the Bicentennial approaches, a critic of children's literature who looks down the road from 1776 marvels at the kinship between the woodcuts of Alexander Anderson and the most elegant picture book of our decade; between SOME VERY GENTLE TOUCHES TO SOME VERY GENTLE-MEN with its concern over the swine in New York's streets, and WHO REALLY KILLED COCK ROBIN?; between UNCLE TOM'S CABIN with its first sympathetic if unrealistic portrait of a black child, and the refreshing strength of M.C. HIGGINS, THE GREAT. The kinship lies in our growing naturalism and respect for children. It is tempting to speculate on the roles the newest books will play in the continuing history of American children's literature; tempting but inappropriate. It will be the privilege of 2076's critics to put the books of this century in perspective; if the literature to come in the next hundred years has the vigor of its promise, theirs will be an enviable task. Today's critics can only keep the faith and wish them joy.

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Chapter VIII

Child Development

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A nation addresses child development research and child development programs after it has achieved a level of health, education, welfare and nutrition, and has developed the research, ideology and resource bases to support the far reaching implications of child development.

Throughout the years, beliefs and ideas shape much of our behavior and the expected behavior of others. When we rely on traditional beliefs and ideas to guide us, we tend to expect traditional behavior of ourselves and others. These beliefs and ideas do change over time, and there are frequently several separate streams of beliefs and ideas at any given time, but there is a recognized and accepted continuity. However, when we rely on scientific procedures for studying behavior, we are frequently caught between the traditional beliefs and ideas and scientific findings. The dilemma is compounded when the two clash. The winner is usually the traditional beliefs and ideas with scientific information being interpreted accordingly or, indeed, being generated to support the beliefs. This is not to condem either traditional beliefs or the use of scientific findings. It is to highlight the difficulty of bringing about change in traditional beliefs or to adopt and incorporate new beliefs resulting from scientific findings. Indeed, it is difficult to know how to interpret scientific findings or even to know what questions to subject to the scientific method, because traditional beliefs and ideas are so powerful in shaping our behavior, including our scientific behavior. This is not new to most readers, but it is important to state as a backdrop to the chapter. Child development is an excellent example of the dilemma of traditional beliefs and ideas - here about children - and scientific findings. The various streams of traditional beliefs and ideas show both continuity and change, while scientific information tends to rely on theories which may or may not reflect the beliefs and ideas of the society. Major breakthroughs of thought by scientists such as Darwin, Freud, and Piaget demonstrate both the dilemma and some resolutions as they pertain to child development. The chapter, recognizing the dilemma as the backdrop, addresses child development first, by tracing the history of the child development concept. Then, the chapter describes the relationship of the emerging idea of child development and its translation into publicly supported social programs. This is accomplished by: (1) examining major historical events relating to children; (2) identifying changing attitudes toward children; (3) looking at the themes of the White House Conferences; and (4) tracing the changes in research focus. First, the history of the child development concept.

The Child Development Concept

Child development is a relatively new concept, but has some roots in the past as well as some consistent aspects over time. These consistent aspects include comparisons with adulthood, recognition of behavior changes over time, and determining ways to ensure the changes. Comparing the youngest children; i.e., infants, to adults, these dichotomized characteristics are generally pointed out:

Infants	Adults
small in size	large in size
emotionally unstable	emotionally stable
irrational	rational
illiterate	literate
egocentric	sociocentric
dependent	independent
amoral	moral

The movement from the characteristics of infants to the characteristics of adults has been observed over the centuries. But these observations have become more refined as they increasingly have drawn on research methodology and findings, experimental interventions and treatments, and formulations of more highly developed theories of children and their development. Nevertheless, the insights of observers other than researchers have provided early concepts of development.

Shakespeare in his As You Like It, for example, provided a description of movement from childhood to adulthood. He used the stage as the model and suggested that life was a series of roles being played over time on the stage of life.

> All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players:
> They have their exists and their entraces;
> And one man in his time plays many parts,
> His acts being seven ages. At first the infant,
> Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms.
> And then the whining school-boy, with his satchel,
> And shining morning face creeping like snail
> Unwillingly to school. And then the lover,
> Sighing like furnace, with a woful ballad
> Made to his mistress eyebrow. Then a soldier,
> Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,
> Jealous in honor, sudden and quick in quarrel,
> Seeking the bubble reputation

Even in the cannon's mouth. And then the justice,
In fair round belly with good capon lin'd,
With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances;
And so he plays his part. The sixth age shifts
Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,
His youthful hose well sav'd, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound. Last scence of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness, and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything

As You Like It II, vii, 139

The idea of role playing suggested by Shakespeare is still a viable one. It was developed into theory by sociologists and psychologists, and is utilized by educators and counsellors to help children learn to play the various roles in life or, indeed, to be trained into them. The roles are largely social and are wholly observable, and the concept of sequence is clear. There is no concern for any underlying or developmental forces in the human organism that might shape or influence the roles. That concern come from others. However, a number of changes in beliefs or behavior about children and childhood were necessary before the concept of child development could emerge.

The seventeenth century marked a major change in beliefs about children and childhood. Before then childhood was not seen as a separate phase in the life cycle, even though different behaviors were observed. Beginning with the 17th century, however, childhood was seen not only as a separate stage of life but as requiring special attention and protection. Children were seen as innocent, but requiring religious and moral training. This training was accomplished largely through the teaching of reading and writing.

The eighteenth century, which is of greater concern for the history of the United States of America, was influenced by the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who dramatically presented the theory of the innate morality of children and their goodness in conflict with an immoral society. He believed that children, uninhibited by adult rules and mores, would develop into perfect adults who would organize socially through the formulation of social contracts. The emphasis was not so much on development, certainly not sequential development, as it was on the rights of children to develop their innate goodness without the restrictions of the adult world. The personality was seen as the result of the unfolding of predetermined and innate characteristics. This theory is still viable. Rousseauan ideas are adopted by some educators, child development researchers, theorists and psychologists who study children and design programs for them in which adults play a minimal or merely supportive role. Child centered education, including the educational philosophy of John Dewey, are expressions of the capacity of children to develop and relate to others from innate abilities or from abilities developed without adult interference.

Some eighteenth century efforts to study children are the first attempts to observe and record developmental sequence. Johann Heinrick Pestalozzi, the Swiss educator, stressed the importance of childhood as a separate learning phase. He recorded some early concepts on child development by publishing, in 1774, observations of his young son. A few years later (1787), Dieterick Tiedermann traced the sensory motor and language development of the first 2 1/2 years of an infant's life. Both of these works provided some data on the sequence of development, even though within a very restricted time frame.

Frederick Froebel (1782-1852), through personal observations of young children, noted their spontaneous, self-sustaining nature, and saw play as the critical vehicle to develop their imaginations and spiritual feelings. He was stressing development within the age-span of preschool rather than development over time. But the concept of development was apparent, including special play materials to foster such development.

It took, however, the publication of Charles Darwin, On the Origin of the Species (185[illegible]), to formulate concepts which provided the basis for a major scientific perspective on the development of humans, and indeed, all life. Darwin published in 1877, the Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals, a book which stressed the concept of evolving growth and behavior. His theory of the evolutionary thrust of development within life forms and across time, combined with new views of scientific study, contributed to clearer formulations of the nature and scope of human development. He also had kept a diary on the development of his infant son; the record began in 1840, but was not published until 1877. His macro-view of evolution set the conceptual framework for a michroview of human development over a life span. Some nineteen years later, Louis Robinson published Darwinism in the Nursery (1891), which suggested the biological determinism, and therefore the probable behavioral determinism, of the evolution concept.

Darwinian theories of evolution were largely biological, and influenced the thinking of many persons trained in biology but also interested in personality development and human behavior. Sigmund Freud was one such person. He was trained as a doctor of medicine, but became interested in abnormal behavior and the emotions of humans, particularly adults. His training in biology, however, shaped his thinking into biological determinism. He perceived, for example, the conflict of what is biologically determined with what is unacceptable to the social standards and mores of a group or society. He saw the personality as unfolding and accommodating over time, but passing through some clear developmental phases. Freud was the first person to introduce the notion that stages of development are sequential and in a biologically predetermined order. He further postulated that the experiences and conflict the developing human had with the social standards and mores, determined at what phase of development a personality might fixate or what phase would predominate and be recognizable in adult personality traits and behaviors. His publication in 1910, Infantile Sexuality, was written from the developmental framework. He postualted, in this and subsequent works, the biologically determined stages of human development and described the characteristics of each developmental stage as follows:

> Oral stage. The first year of life (0-1). The infant is motivated by the pleasure principle and seeks pleasure through the mouth and through touch. The infant is amoral and unaware of social norms or mores. This stage blends in with other stages but some of its characteristics are present or sublimated in later stages.
>
> Anal stage. The second and third years of life (1-3). The toddler is motivated by increasing control over the self, growing awareness of the self (ego), and increased awareness of some of the demands of society. The beginning of conscience is evident and the toddler learns something about postponing pleasure. Again, this stage blends in with other stages, but some of the characteristics are present or sublimated in later stages. If the person's development is fixated at this level or any level, the characteristics of the level will predominate in the adult personality.
>
> Phallic stage. The third and fourth years of life (3-5). The child is concerned with sexual identity, seeks approval from authority figures and tests out aggressive behavior.
>
> Latent stage. The fifth through the eleventh year (5-12). Many social skills are developed and peer relationships increase. The mores of the group are adopted and the conscience is well developed. The self (ego) is developed sufficiently to resolve conflicts between instinctual drives (id) and social and moral restrictions (super-ego).

Heterosexual stage. The twelfth year through early adulthood (12-21+). Preparation for vocation, marraige and family life are the foci of this stage. During it, the person becomes a reality oriented, socialized adult.

Freuds's views provided a conceptual framework for a great deal of research and social programs in American and his influence is still evident.

Arnold Gesell who founded the Clinic for Child Development at Yale in 1911, and who was the first to study children over time using scientific procedures, approached child development from a biolgoical and behavioral point of view, as did Freud. However, his studies described age related behavior by years, and emphasized as major developmental thrusts, the divergent and convergent aspects of development. Thus, the various aspects of human growth and development; i.e., physical, intellectual, social and emotional, are divergent in terms of rate and harmony, and are periodically convergent into nodal stages, when the different aspects are in harmony. Gesell saw the divergent stages and ages as causes for conflict and disorder in the child's behavior, and the convergent or nodal stages and ages as sources of order and harmony in the child's behavior. Gesell was also influenced by evolutionary concepts and suggested that the nodal stages reflected earlier levels of evolution in the human race from which new thrusts were made. This recapitulation idea was evident in the studies of G. Stanley Hall, another prominent scientist, as he considered growth and development of children and youth.

The concept of age related behavior particularly noted in intellectual changes, was introduced into this country by Hall, who studied and observed children just entering school. His publication in 1870, The Content of Children's Minds, describes the knowledge and thinking skills of children. A major breakthrough on age related intellectual functioning, however, came from the Frenchman, Alfred Binet. In 1907, he developed the method of age scaling, and demonstrated the development of mental abilities over time; i.e., as a function of chronological age. While his concern was to identify individual differences in mental ability in order to place retarded children in institutions, his method produced age norms. Binet did not theorize about intellectual development, but he helped in an understanding of age related intellectual functioning.

It took Jean Piaget to put age related intellectual behavior into a developmental, sequential theoretic framework. He was less interested in precision of ages for particular intellectual developmental stages, than in stages with an inviolate sequence. Postulating that mature intelligent behavior; i.e., the ability to reason and think critically in objective, abstract and hypothetical terms, is the ultimate in intellectual development (formal operations), he examined the sequence of subordinate elements which are the developmental predecessors. These elements emerge in sequence and define qualitatively discrete stages of intellectual growth. It should be noted that Piaget sees intelligence as the organizer of the total personality, including the emotions, values and philosophy of life; thus, he perceives an inherent relationship of intellectual development to total development.

The structure of intelligence, according to Piaget, changes over time as a result of neurological maturation in interaction with experience, and an evolving of thought processes or mechanisms. The distinct periods and their cognitive content are as follows:

> Sensory-motor stage (0-2). The major evolving concept during this phase is that of the object, or object permanance. Through acting on objects in the environment, the child learns that objects have constancy, even when the environment around the objects change or the child moves and acts on the object. Thus, mother or a toy remain constant, their identity does not change even if they are seen in different settings or, indeed, it is mother with different clothes.
>
> Preoperational stage (2-7). The major evolving concept is the relationship between symbols and objects; i.e., language. The major intellectual thrust is increasingly dealing with the environment symbolically instead of through motor activity. The cognitive processes of classification begin but are limited to classification by one attribute of objects only. If height and

width are the attributes the child is confronting, the child can only classify by one or the other, not both. Another major intellectual thrust is the evolving of the concept of conservation. By the time the child is seven, the child is able to recognize constancy of substance in apparent transformations. Thus, a ball of clay which is flattened in front of the child, is still seen as the same amount of clay. Conservation of mass is one of the first conservation phenomena to be mastered. Conservation of numbers also evolves during this stage, so that the child recognizes the same total number of objects even though they are rearranged in space.

Concrete operations stage (7-11). The major evolving concept is that of deductive reasoning. Logical operations are newly emerged mental tools, and permit problem solving as a mental function, without relying on acting upon objects. Expressions of these mental tools are in classification by multiple attributes, seriating, and formulating hypotheses and explanations about real (concrete and present) objects or events. The child gradually masters classes, relations and quantities, and manipulates these through logical seriation, class inclusion, the recognition of equivalence, and the logical thought operation of reversibility, built upon conservation. The child also develops what is called associativity, which means the child understands the same point or objective can be reached by more than one route. This is particularly important in number relationships; e.g., multiplying is another way of addition, percentages are another form of fractions, etc.

Formal operations stages (11-15). The major evolving concept is mental operations constructing potential, hypothetical and nonpresent alternatives, and reasoning about them. Syllogistic thinking and detection of logical incongruities in hypothetical thinking are evident. Those in the formal operations stage can conceptualize the thoughts of other people and understand their reasoning processes. The child can deal with abstract realtionships and with the form rather than the content of an argument. The child

> can intellectually manipulate the hypothetical, and systematically assess a range of alternatives. He/she can increasingly deal with problems of probability, proportionality, combinations and permutations. In short, intelligence acquires characteristics of the adult.

Piaget developed his theory of stages by observing and experimenting with his own children. Later, he designed experimental procedures to test the hypotheses and postulates of his theory on larger populations. His theory is probably the dominant influence on present research and programs concerned with child development.

This brief sketch of the history of the child development concept provides the framework within which to examine the emerging concept and its manifestations in legislation and social programs.

Child Development and Social Programs

Four major ways to see the emergence of the idea of child development and its translation into publicly supported programs are: (1) to examine the chronology of major historical events in the nation relating to children; (2) to examine the changing attitudes toward children; (3) to examine the thrusts of the White House Conference; and (4) to examine the changes in research focus. One and two can be examined for the full two hundred years, while three and four have more recent histories.

(1) Chronological events

The major historical events relating to children and their health, education and welfare before 1776, were largely concerned with "binding" children to masters, making orphans apprentices, and attempting to stop shipment of poor children from England. There was some legislation to stop child abuse, but to legalize corporal punishment. There was also legislation prohibiting the education of slaves on the one hand, while on the other hand, colleges were founded to educate young (American) Indians. A few orphanges were established, which frequently included widows and their children, and several hospitals were opened.

The major events affecting children after 1776 were the increase in attention to the health needs of children (see Chapter III for full development of this history); the increased provision of public and special education for children (see Chapter IV for full development of this history); and increased concern for the welfare of children, largely in terms of protection (see Chapter IX for full development of this history).

The events that reflect the concerns of the nation or the states for improved health of the citizens are largely products of scientific study. Knowledge about causes of disease, protection from disease and health care was applied to different health programs over the years. These programs changed as new knowledge was available and as new legislation mandated. The events that reflect the concerns of the nation or the states for the education of children focused heavily on general public education. This public education was for poor children, but gradually was available and accpetable to the majority of the population, regardless of economic level. Education also increasingly considered the handicapped and minority populations, with very late concern for Blacks. The events that reflect the concerns of the nation or the States for the welfare of children were largely to protect them from labor, in terms of length of work day, and from adverse labor conditions, such as dangerous equipment. Welfare concerns for child labor were closely linked to concern for poor children and the protection of children of poor families, as well as orphans. Orphans from families with property, however, were not only protected, but were able to remain out of orphanges or being indentured. Over the years, and especailly during the early 1930's, there was increased concern for delinquent juveniles, but again, these youths were viewed in the context of poverty. The idea of keeping poor families intact, the idea of placing children in foster homes rather than institutions or as apprentices, developed slowly. These ideas reflected major shifts in thinking from concerns for children as part of an economic system to seeing them as part of a human social system. This shift was not evident in public policy until the twentieth century. However, these ideas were more influenced by humanitarian considerations than child development beliefs. The words child development were not part of the debate.

The first use of the words, child development, in major events concerning children, was in the Clinic founded by Dr. Arnold Gesell at Yale University in 1911. It was the first visible evidence of a program to study the development of children rather than their separate health problems, educational needs or welfare status. The focus was on how children develop, not how we maintain the health of children, how we educate children, or how we protect children. The next evidence of concern with the development of children and youth was in the establishment of the Judge Baker Foundation, in 1917, in Boston, Massachusetts, to study psychological development and problems of juvenile delinquents; and, then, in 1921, again in Boston, the establishment of a Child Guidance Clinic concerned with guiding the development of children. Progressive education which began in 1919 in Winnetka, Illinois, by Carlton Washburne, Superintendent of Schools,and reached its peak of popularity during the 1930's, was another major event focusing on the development of children. The assumptions underlying progressive education were child development concepts formulated by John Dewey, the educator and philosopher. His views were that children possessed the capacity to direct their own development with some guidance from adults and that children could recognize their needs and learn to meet them for their own development.

The establishment of the National Institute of Mental Health in 1946, included concerns for the prevention of abnormal development and the enhancement of normal psychological development and adjustment behavior. But the first Federal program which actually included the words child and development, was in the establishment of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development in 1963. NICHHD, as part of the National Institutes of Health, was to conduct research and training in maternal and child health and in human development. While the human development aspect began largely as biomedical, it soon involved psychosocial aspects of human development, particularly child development.

Other events which focused directly on issues of child development were: (1) the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 which included the Comprehensive Child Development Program, more commonly known as Head Start; and (2) the formulation of the Office of Child Development in 1969, which inherited Head Start and portions of the Children's Bureau. These events showed an increasing concern of the nation for the total child and for programs which would foster that development. While protective care, health, and education contined to be recognized, the new goal was to enhance the development of the total child.

Head Start, a child development program for children from families with low incomes, operated on an underlying assumption that children reared in poverty did not have the same opportunity for total development that nonpoverty children had. The fact that many people saw Head Start solely as a school readiness program or as a place to increase intelligence scores, simply underlines the difficulty of dealing with child development conceps from other than traditional institutional or professional perspectives.

The Office of Child Development in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and counterparts in State Offices of Child Development, are faced with the health, education, and welfare institutions and perspectives already in place, and, in many ways, look to the coordination of these institutions as a way to help promote a child development perspective.

As of this writing, child development programs are in conflict with protective care concepts as well as with views that child development is the concern of the parents and is not an area for social programs. Further, child development concepts are currently in conflict with parental work requirements which include protective not developmental day care for the children. By 1972 legislation, parents on welfare were required to be trained for jobs in order to be moved off of welfare. The concerns for children of those parents became secondary to the primary purpose of reducing the number of welfare recipients.

The traditional view of day care as a place where children are protected from harm is at conflict with the view of day care for the development of children. The Day

Care and Child Development Council of America, established in the mid 1960's, has made great efforts to combine the two concepts into child development oriented day care.

The Office of Child Development introduced child development concepts into day care through a series of nine volumes on day care programs. The 1968 Federal Interagency Day Care Standards, based on the child development concepts of Head Start, continues to be controversial as of this writing. Child development concepts are generally seen as too expensive and of questionable value for day care programs.

(2) Attitudes toward children

There are no attitudes toward children which are or evern have been held by all the members of the society at the same time. In fact, there are attitudes held by different groups which are almost totally opposite from each other at any given time. Whether children are inherently good or bad, whether children are chattels or have independent rights, whether children are economic resources or are economically dependent, whether all children are valuable or only those of social status, whether children should be trained or permitted to develop, whether children need restrictions or need advocacy - these conflicting beliefs shape conflicting attitudes. However, there are dominant attitudes which may be identified over the centuries and which shaped many of the institutions or institutional changes over time.

The overriding shift in attitudes toward children is reflected in a change in the status of children in society. This change essentially is a shift from children's subordinate and incidential position in the family to one of greater equity and with individual needs and rights.

> There was an old woman who lived in a shoe
> She had so many children she didn't know what to do;
> She gave them some broth without any bread
> Then whipped them all soundly and put them to bed.

Early attitudes toward children emerged directly from the early colonial life and the beliefs, values and realities of that life. Within the early colonial life framework, children were considered important primarily as they fit into the adult community, not according to individual child needs. Children were treated as miniature adults, but were also perceived to be full of sin or depravity, and were therefore disciplined rigorously. Moral and religious training began early in the child's life and schools were seen as part of that training. Interest in children was on what they would become, not on what they were. There was no interest in the child as a child, but there was great interest in the child as a product of original sin, the essence of innocense, and as future citizen. Individual differences were ignored and children were not only treated the same, but were expected to behave in the same ways. Observed differences were cause for punishment or accusations of laziness, sinfulness, etc. Playfulness was discourged and children were expected to be serious about life.

Children must be seen, not heard

The colonial child was regarded as a pilgrim. The docile child of the eighteenth century was regarded as a creature of the future. While the docile child possessed evil impulses, the child also exhibited virtues which could be developed over time. Parents and teachers could mold the docile child into correct pathways and help good triumph over evil in the child. The child's character was maleable and unformed and should be shaped by adults. Adults showed more tenderness toward children, but tended to hold an attitude of condescension toward them. The societal view of the docile child came from John Locke and Johann Heinrick Pestalozzi. Their writings provided the basis for stressing the power which correct methods of manipulating children at home or in school shaped the development of the children as future citizens.

Their very disabilities are privileges.

> In the little world in which children have their existence, whosoever brings them up, there is nothing so finally perceived and so finally felt, as injustice. Dickens, Great Expectations.

The saintly child of the nineteenth century romantic notion emerged from Rousseau and Frederick Froebel. Both felt that children possessed innate goodness and that adult mistreatment and hypocrisies corrupted children. The child was powerless in society but possessed an innate moral superiority over adults, which adults must protect and nourish. If the essential goodness of the child was preserved and the child's potential capacity for virtue and intelligence was nurtured, then the future of the American Republic was assured. Books by authors such as Bronsen Alcott, Charles Dickens, Harriet Beecher Stowe, etc., express these attitudes toward children. (See Chapter VII, Children's Literature, for fuller discussion of authors.)

The individualistic child, also of the nineteenth century, saw the child as both good and bad and as being largely independent of adult direction. Adults were expected to permit children to take the natural consequences of their behavior. Children should learn to feel they are violating laws of nature not laws of adults, when they misbehave. Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography, at the beginning of the 19th century, was an expression of this view. Later in the nineteenth century, John Dewey elaborated on this notion.

The late nineteenth century idea of children was the alienated child. This child is seen as independent of adult authority but hostile toward the compromises of the adult world. The alien child is, in many ways, the "savage" of Rousseau, the "indifference to adult authority" child of Mark Twain, or the visitor from the evolutionary past, according to Hall, who finds him/herself in an incomprehensible civilized world.

The twentieth century child was seen, early in the century, as exploited and mistreated by the harsh urban industrial society. The romantic views of children from the nineteenth century combined with the progressive ideas about children in the twentieth century to create an intensive interest in protecting children. This concern was particularly true for children of poor families who tended to be the economically exploited. Child welfare became an important concept.

The twentieth century child is seen, from a scientific point of view, as being shaped by adults to fit into a technological society, on the one hand, or as developing his/her own full potential for an indeterminate future. John Watson, expressing the first view of his *Psychological Care of Infant and Child*, 1928, instructed parents to mold children as they wished. Watson saw the schools and society as shapers of children through environmental and behavioral controls, particularly conditioned response behavior. John Dewey expressed the second view that children can direct their own destiny with no manipulation from adults. Dewey's views were consistent with Arnold Gesell's views and those of Benjamin Spock. Gesell, in his book, *[illegible]ancy and Human Growth*, 1928, expressed the view th[illegible]rents could leave children to develop in accordance with maturational levels. Spock in his book, *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*, 1946, expressed a similar permissiveness. His 1957 revision, however, warned about the dangers of spoiling children with too much permissiveness. Freudien views also pointed out the dangers of permitting impulsive behavior in children, while trying to avoid the dangers of inhibiting behavior by an overly rigid superego or external, adult control.

The relationship of attitudes and values about children and increased knowledge about children through research with institutional concerns and emphases are seen in the White House Conferences and in child development research. Both the White House Conferences and child development research are twentieth century phenomenon.

(3) White House Conferences

The decennial White House Conferences began as the nation considered that the welfare of dependent children was critical enough or was in sufficient jeopardy to require national attention. Behind these concerns was the newly articulated value that children are individuals, have rights, and that parents have duties to their children. Also behind these concerns was the assumption by the government that it has a responsibility for the protection of all children, but particularly those at risk.

The concern for special social problems of children and their solution, however, predated any consideration for the development of children. Thus, the first White House Conference in 1909, focused on the problems of the dependent child. It was the White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, and recommended the establishment of the federal Children's Bureau. It declared that poverty alone should not be grounds for removing children from their families. The family was recognized and the home life of a family was seen as the highest product of civilization. The concern for the dependent child was to help the child within the family and the home life environment. President Theodore Roosevelt, in establishing the theme of the Conference, made clear that home life could be in a foster home as well as a child's own home. The critical factor was to make sure home life was financially feasible. While the concept of child development was not alluded to - it was still too early to articulate such a concept - the intuition that home life was important to children prevailed. The concept of child care was articulated at the Conference, and a major recommendation was the creation of an unofficial national organization for the promotion of child care. The Child Welfare League, organized in 1915 and incorporated in 1928 in New York, became that organization. The charter for and establishment of the Children's Bureau also occurred as a result of the first White House Conference.

The thrust of the second White House Conference in 1919, the year Woodrow Wilson designated as Children's Year, focused on Child Welfare Standards. Home life was again stressed as important to the welfare of children, and the need to supply an adequate income to make home life possible was again stressed. Minimum standards for the welfare of children resulted from this Conference. Child development was still not addressed; rather protection of children in need of special care, entering employment and in health care, were addressed. There was also a focus on the need to protect children from the effects of war. President Wilson asked for the setting up of irreducible minimum standards for the health, education, and welfare of the American child, and immediately extended the range of interest of child welfare beyond the confines of dependency and the dependent child. Minimum standards were set in regards to home care, the employment of children, and the protection of the health of both mothers and children.

The third White House Conference (1930) focused on Child Health and Protection. One of the contributions to the conference was the collection of facts on physical growth and development of children. One of the outcomes was the adoption of a Children's Charter that stipulated the rights of children, regardless of race, color, location or situation. President Herbert Hoover reiterated the government's responsibility for all of the children of the United States. He sought consideration of the special needs of handicapped children; but gave the highest priority to the protection and stimulation of the normal child. He pointed out, too, that the problems of children - handicapped or normal - were not always the problems of children alone; our society had produced unprecedented complexity of life for all. In this context, he asked the conferees to explore opportunities for a creative life for all children. This was the first White House Conference which incorporated facts about child development. It was also the first White House Conference which talked about the rights of all children. The way was opened to consider the concept of the development of all children, but it would remain largely at the thinking level.

The fourth White House Conference (1939), focused on "Children in a Democracy." There were concerns for all phases of child life and for the development of the child over time, including, now, the years of youth. The Conference called attention to the inequalities in opportunities available to children and youth in rural areas, among the unemployed, and in low income, migrant and minority groups. President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave more explicit encouragement than Hoover to studying the problems of children as part of the problems of society. The primary objective of the Conference was to be the consideration of the relationship between a successful democracy and the children who form an integral part of that democracy. Ultimately the well-being of the children depended upon an understanding of this relationship. The fourth White House Conference not only incorporated ideas of child and youth development but also recognized that inequalities in opportunity affected development. The relationship between the status of child development and social problems was clearly established.

The fifth White House Conference on Children and Youth (1950) was the largest effort on behalf of children in the history of the nation. There was broad citizen participation at this mid-century conference. The participants examined the work that had been done since 1900, and, for 1950, focused attention on emotional growth and development of children, and the development of a healthy personality. The concept of development for children and youth was now translated into recommendations for the nation. The theme expressed the focus: how to provide each child with a fair chance to achieve a healthy personality. The effects of prejudice and discrimination on personality development were discussed and recommendations to eliminate such prejudice and discrimination were offered. President Harry S. Truman, recognizing that the Conference included concerns of youth, pointed out the immediate and evenetual obligations of children and youth to the nation. He linked the concern for the development of children and youth to the future well-being not only of the children and youth, but of the nation.

The sixth White House Conference (1960), was the Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth. The theme of the Conference was the promotion of opportunities for children and youth to realize their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity. A large part of this conference was the result of continuing activities and local follow-up conferences conducted by groups which had been involved with the 1950 Conference. The reports provided information on the benefits of focusing on child and youth development. President Eisenhower recognized the development of the whole child and the rights of children and youth to special and appropriate programs to meet the physical, recreational, educational, psychological, and occupational needs of children and youth. He saw the relationships between those concerns and programs and the development of spiritually and intellectually aware adults.

The Seventh White House Conference on Children and Youth was in two sessions. The White House Conference on Children was held in December 1970, and addressed the age group 0-13; the White House Conference on Youth was held in April 1971, and addressed the age group 14-24. President Richard Nixon stressed the importance of children and youth developing a new sense of patriotism. The conference endorsed developmental child care for children and recommended that the federal government fund comprehensive, family-centered child care programs. This subject was identified as the number one concern of those attending the Conference on Children. The Conference on Youth stressed the right of the individual to "do his/her own thing, so long as it does not interfere with the rights of others." The Youth Conference focused on the need for attention to be given to developing the potential of youth. Both conferences emphasized the need for health insurance, experimental schools, and solutions for pressing social needs of children and youth, and the need for child care for the 12,000,000 children of working mothers.

The concept of child development is clearly recognized in 1976 but is seen as expensive to translate into public programs. Also, research findings on the benefits of public programs have not been clear enough to justify, according to some, the expenditure. Research on child development has its own history, as well as reflecting issues and values of different times and different researchers.

(4) Research involving children

The application of the scientific method to research involving children is strictly a twentieth century phenomenon. During the twentieth century, a number of research activities contributed to a clearer understanding of all the facets of child development. Binet showed, from his normative studies of mental ability, that differences in children's mental levels affected school achievement. Louis Terman introduced the Binet test into the United States in 1916 (The Measurement of Intelligence). As a result, the ideas of chronolgoical age and mental age were incorporated into most research on children. Edward Thorndike contributed statistical techniques to help in research and measurement involving children. The use of intelligence tests was apparent in a number of other research trends, including learning, transfer and interference experiments. The result was a good deal of research on learning and individual differences; however, the emphasis was on how children learn and how much they learn rather than on what can be done to develop learning ability or intelligence. With the establishment of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station in 1917, at the University of Iowa, knowledge about mental development received focused attention.

The descriptive studies of child development by Gesell, mentioned earlier in this chapter, were the first, but were closely followed by similar studies including the Harvard Growth Study (Dearborn) and the Chicago Growth Study (Freeman). These latter two studied followed children from year to year with physical measurements and mental tests. Infant studies and studies of children from two to five mushroomed during the 1920's. The Merrill-Palmer School in Detroit began conducting research on children in the mid-twenties, as did the Child Development and Family Life program at Cornell, the Brush Foundation at Western Reserve University, and the Child Research Council in Denver, Colorado. The Fels Institute at Antioch, Ohio, began in 1929 and the Mooseheart Laboratory for Child Research was established in 1930. These institutes provided an extensive scientific literature on children from birth through age five. The longitudinal studies went beyond age five and, as is true with Terman's study of a thousand gifted children, carried the study to the adulthood of the subjects. Longitudinal studies became validators of early prediction statements made from early measured performance. Longitudinal studies also provided information on the way children developed over time. Even Watson, in his Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist (1919), emphasized the importance of data on infants for the understanding of adults. The research on child development from 1920 to 1930 mapped out details of physical and mental growth from birth to six years of age, language development, problem solving skills and social behavior. These were studied in relationship to age norms, as was intelligence, and patterns of development were plotted.

A critical accompaniment of the research during the 1920's was the nature-nurture controversy. Those who saw child development as biologically determined were pitted against those who saw child development as the result of environmental impact. Theories of learning and development reflected this conflict and it was not until the concept of interaction emerged that any resolution, however tenuous, was achieved in the 1960's. The concept of interaction states that the child develops as a result of the interaction of the organism and its genetic composition and limitations with the environment - cultural, social, emotional, experiential.

Also during the 1920's the term, child development research, was first used. In 1925, the National Research Council changed the name of its Committee on Child Psychology to the Committee on Child Development. Already in 1920, research interests as well as techniques and theories permitted for a wider approach to the study of children. A major university Child Development Center began at Teachers College, Columbia University in 1925.

During the 1930's there was considerable concern about the effect of social-economic level and social status upon the development of the child. Also, through new research techniques of interview, observation and statistical analyses, it became evident that the socio-economic status of a family was a specific determiner of the goals and expectations of parents for the development of their children as well as a determiner of methods of child rearing. In the latter years of the 1930's, Kurt Lewin, who conducted much of his research at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, added more sociological techniques. He found from his studies, using a field theory framework, the dynamic interaction of the child with the total environment affecting child development and behavior. Also in the 1930's, the Society for Research in Child Development was organized (1933). It was a multidisciplinary society inviting membership from researchers of different views to share, exchange and discuss research on child development.

During the 1940's research focused on the relationship between experience and personality development. Psychoanalytic concepts were studied, particularly in relation to the effects of deprivation and institutionalization on subsequent development. The mental health movement reflected the concern for adverse experiences affecting development in adverse ways. Much of the intent of the research of the 1940's was to permit development by removing impediments to development. The 1940's also saw the emergence of studies of other cultures and American sub-cultures. Both the fields of sociology and cultural anthropology provided insights to the role of culture in child development.

For the first time, parents were seen as more than caretakers; indeed, they were seen as teachers, goal-setters, models. Research showed that adequate and sustained mothering was necessary for the normal development of children, not only physically, but mentally and socially as well. Maternal deprivation studies showed that such deprivation contributed to mental retardation, failure to thrive and a high mortality rate among the children. The notion that a child is more than a biological organism, and becomes what he/she is through interaction with other people and institutions, helped set the stage for later interest in intervening in the interaction process by means of carefully designed programs. But in the 1940's there was little attention paid to stimulating development. Rather, the underlying notion was biological determinism on the one hand, which assumed development would proceed once the obstacle or impediment was removed, and descriptive studies of the role of culture and experience in child development. Projective techniques appeared in the research in the 1940's and were used to determine level of personality development as well as the nature of personality problems inhibiting or distorting development.

During the 1950's, a shift occurred in both the focus and methodology of child development studies. This shift was from mapping out age trends in thinking, language, growth, and creativity to concentrating on the processes, mechanisms or structures underlying changes over time. Studies on socialization, environmental influences, and parent-child relationships were popular in the 1950's and continue to be so today. Research on child development in the 1950's investigated parent-child relations as these influenced the development of the child. Further, research studied the social context of child development and the effects of early experiences on later development.

In the 1960's research followed logically from recognizing the impact of the environment on the development of the child to conducting studies of the effects of special interventions to counter the environment or reshape it. Accompanying these intervention studies were relevant studies on the development of perception, language, learning, concept formation, creativity, techniques of problem solving, aggression, competition and cooperation, and other aspects of the underlying determinants of behavior. Studies of cognition and cognitive development proliferated, including the effects of early stimulation and deprivation in cognitive processes.

Head Start and other preschool programs which focused on the development of the total child, attempted not only to compensate for deprivation, lacks, or negative effects of poverty, but also tried to stimulate and enhance the development of children through intervention activities and parent involvement. The parents were involved in promoting the development of their children. The concepts of protective care, removal of impediments to growth, and biological determinism were more submerged in the 1960's, and the concept of stimulation of development was more prominent. Head Start was the primary example of child development concepts in the nation. It was also the first federally legislated statement addressing the developmental problems of the whole child and providing moneys to study ways to enhance that development. Two requirements considered significant for child development were legislated in 1964 as mandatory for all Head Start programs: (a) a comprehensive program of health, education, nutrition, social, and community services; and (b) mandatory parent involvement at all levels of program development and participation.

Research made possible by Head Start funds as well as funds from other federal agencies concerned with child development, addressed the following kinds of child development research questions:

1. Does early intervention stimulate development of the child?
2. Can the rate of development be changed by intervention programs?

3. Does the involvement of parents in intervention programs contribute to stimulating child development?
4. What are the long-range impacts of early interventions?
5. What institutional changes contribute to enhanced child development?
6. How are institutions changed to meet the developmental needs of children?

These kinds of questions reflect where the child development field was in the 1960's conceptually and where it was methodologically. Actually, two trends combined to shape research on child development. One trend was the concern for cognitive functions and the changes taking place in the mental processes of developing children. The cognitive theory of Piaget was most prominent in this trend. The second trend resulted from a fusion of concepts from learning theory, field theory, psychoanalytic theory and theoretical developments of sociology and cultural anthropolgy. This second trend focused on the socioemotional aspect of child development, with particular concern for a clear delineation of behavioral variables and conceptualization of the processes of socialization.

Child development research conducted in the 1960's, increasingly drew upon the knowledge of cultural differences generated in earlier decades. Applying this knowledge to child development, and incorporating a new national concern for meeting the needs of culturally different groups by respecting and nurturing the differences, new kinds of culturally related child development programs appeared.

The 1970's up to 1976, continued many of the research concerns of the 1950's and 1960's, but showed increased interest in studying child development within a family context and within a broader ecological context. In other words, the interaction of all environmental, institutional factors with the child became the newer theoretic context for research on child development. This is in addition to the 1970's interests in social learning theory, which studies children's behavior in systematic and controlled experiments, cognitive and language development studies stimulated by Piaget's theory of cognitive development, and studies in behavior control and management.

Another new emphasis in the 1970's is reflected in the increase in the number of studies of infancy. During the 1960's the emphasis was on preschool children aged 3 to 5 and primary aged children. Findings from many of the studies of the 1960's suggested the need to know more about infant development in order to help parents function more effectively, to provide intervention programs at earlier ages, and to recognize the increasing demand for services for very young children. The 1970's also saw an increase in the number of women in the labor force who have children under school age (See Chapter I for trends), and an increase in the number of single parent families with young children where the parent must work. The challenge is to provide child development services for the children, involving thr parents in the development of the children, while permitting parents to be free to work.

A current issue of considerable import is whether it is financially feasible to provide any more than protective care for young children of working parents. A good deal of research in the 1970's was looking at the quality of day care, the standards of day care and the differential effects of cost, staff-child ratio, and staff training on children in day care. In many ways the Head Start standards, as reflected in the 1974 federally adopted Head Start Performance Standards, are being challenged when addressing day care programs. Further, questions about the long range impact of early intervention programs are still being raised.

Some new thinking, however, in terms of periodic screening for identifying problems and periodic intervention to stimulate child development, is opening the way to address critical intervention times, populations and programs or services. Research questions for child development in 1976 include these:

1. What is the role of the parents in assuring continuous development of their children?
2. What kinds, sequences and lengths of interventions are needed to assure continuous development of children?
3. What institutional and family changes are needed to assure continuous development of children?

4. How are cultural differences preserved and cultural linkages promoted to assure continuous development of children?
5. What is the effect of early and/or periodic intervention programs on adolescent development?

In short, the child is perceived as a developing organism over time and intervention programs are contributors to that development. Families and social institutions are part of the ecology which influences the development of children over time.

> It is a sad fact there is a better government policy to protect animals than children from experimentation
>
> Marian Wright Edelman
> Director
> Children's Defense Fund

Another critical issue druing the 1970's increasingly concerned the protection of human subjects in research. Begun in the 1960's, but intensified in the 1970's, regulations finally appeared in 1974 for formal assurances from institutions receiving federal research funds that human subjects are not at risk or are protected from adverse effects. It is important to note that at the time of this writing, the regulations concerning protection of children have not been issued. A major concern seems to be at what age children should provide informed consent. This consent is tied up with increased concern for children's rights.

Concluding Statement

Ideas, beliefs, events, scientific techniques - all of these influence the concerns of a nation for its children. Changes in these things bring about changes in what the nation does for children or to them. Then, the factor of resources is critical. No nation can entertain the notion of development of children over time that is without the resources to support such a notion. If hunger and disease are paramount, ideas of cognitive and social-emotional development seen like luxuries. Only when basic survival needs of children are met can concepts like child development be both generated and translated into programs. Concerns for child development, then, indicate a national ability and willingness to support programs to promote such development over time.

Chapter IX

The Child and the Law*

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Just as "the child is father of the man", so is the child the father of the citizen. This determines that his parents or guardians must nurture him and that the society in which he lives must develop a machinery for ensuring his protection and for holding in escrow his future rights until he is judged mature enough to claim and exercise them.

Long before the birth of child development disciplines men and women shared a common interest in the nurture and growth of their young. For centuries, adults have been sensitive observers of children watching them successively break forth from their cocoons, emerge as avid or resistant learners, and become challengers of their elders' protective restraints. Compassion, love, and self-protection are the wellsprings of the social impulse to shore up the parent-child relationship with an orderly set of rules and sanctions.

The child development expert, however, has a stake in the subject matter of laws for children which transcends that of the general public. He is trained to regard the "givens" with a skepitcal eye. He is obliged to ask not only how existing law meets the test of contemporary theory but what changes that theory might demand of a legal system. This necessarily leads him to consider the relevance of theory to whatever questions of social "governance" he identifies. But such an exercise is likely to engender a high degree of frustration.

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*This chapter appeared in Child Development Research. Bettye M. Caldwell and Harry N. Ricciuti (eds.), Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1973, 509-555. The chapter is so appropriate for this book, that we asked the author and the publisher for permission to use it. They graciously agreed. The author notes, however, that the chapter was written in 1972.

With respect to children, as with so many focuses of public policy, the contributions of social scientists and related experts seldom flow directly into the informational channels which feed the streams of law. Kalven (1968) suggests several explanations. For one, the values at stake are sometimes so fundamental as to lie "beyond the reach of factual inpeachment." For another, a legal system sometimes operates on "premises so mundane and commonplace as not to need any systematic confirmation." In consequence, the greatest need for contributions from the social sciences is found in a middle area of less certain value or less ascertainable fact; yet even here obstacles exist to wholesale incorporation of social science findings. "Law deals with preference, not truth, and we may wish to make the policy choices ourselves and not delegate them to the scientific expert . . . For social science learning to have an impact on the living law, will it first have to become popular learning and thus enter law via the normal political process?" (p. 68)

These are imposing considerations. They have been stressed before. But even were child development experts to gain an influential footing within the legal system, frustrations would still exist. The law, standing alone, can hardly supply all the life-giving nutriments which healthy child development requires. It is a source of some controls, some opportunities, but surely other institutions of society have equal, if not greater, roles to play. Yet law is a source of controls without which social organization would not continue. Thus the law lays a claim upon our attention which amply justifies reviewing its historical contributions and present relevance to contemporary theories of child development.

The purpose of this chapter is to place laws concerning children in historical perspective with regard to legal tradition and changing concepts of childhood and, further, to review certain functions of our American legal system and select a few areas of law for extended consideration. Finally, an effort will be made to predict new possibilities for the law, to which child development experts can contribute.

It should be noted at the outset that reliance upon the law to create opportunities for children's growth is a modern posture. In earlier times the principal objectives of a legal system in relation to children were the limited (albeit vital) goals of reinforcing social sanctions against proscribed conduct and of protecting private interests in property. The law of parent and child has tended to be a field of private law. Historically, it has primarily concerned relations of individual to individual, in contrast to public law, which deals with relations between individual and government (International Encycopedia of the Social Sciences 1968; but see Rehbinder 1971).

A more positive view of law as an influence of family relations may fairly be said to date from the social legislation measures of the nineteenth century. These innovations also indicated changing attitudes toward family life. Philippe Aries (1962) claims that the present concept of childhood as a prolonged phase (or series thereof) demanding nurture and support, and the importance of family as distinct from extended kin group or community, are relatively modern ideas. One can see in the wave of child protective legislation which swept over most industrialized nations in the 1800s a response to significantly altered concepts of child-rearing. These, in turn, derived from numerous changes in the social, political, and economic life of the times. Not the least important was the advance in public health, with its accompanying impact on mortality rates. For the first time in world history, education of the young and extended preparation for adult life could be urged upon all classes in society as a rewarding investment.

However, the nineteenth-century upsurge also reflects an increase in bureaucratic capabilitity. Social institutions demand a certain measure of popular acceptance. In addition, they derive stability from accumulated experience with methods of distributing resources or applying sanctions and from growing familiarity with the combinations of law and administrative skill which are found best suited to advancing the public interest at an acceptable cost. One notable aspect of nineteenth- and twentieth-century social history was the invention or adaptation of bureaucracies to serve such welfare ends as child development. In its way, the burgeoning of administrative agencies is as significant as the new philosophy asserted in support of an impressive volume of children's laws.

Thus changing ideas and conditions of childhood were made manifest in legislation, judicial doctrine, and the work of governmental agencies. These last assumed a new importance in promoting values associated with child-rearing. Yet underlying these indications of modern times were centuries-old accretions of canon and common law. These legal systems are the fundamental sources which define the child-oriented functions of legal institutions. A word about the origins of legal doctrine may serve to place the present- and our hopes for the future-in perspective.

Who Is A Child?

First, however, there is a perplexing task of definition. Who is a child? For what purposes and under what circumstances whould distinctions be drawn on account of age or kinship? Generally it is clear that a child or "infant" (as oftern termed in older law) suffers certain legal disabilities. Although age twenty-one has marked majority for many purposes, variations are numerous and changes, especially in the age of voter eligibility, have been adopted in a number of states. The wide-ranging discussion of the desirable age to mark majority portends further changes to come (Great Britain 1967; Michigan Governor's Special Commission 1971). For understandable reasons, social policy has traditionally countenanced a lower age for valid marriages than the ages at which other adult responsibilities may be assumed. This protects prospective issue. Legalizing a contract of marriage between sixteen-year-olds (or younger, on parental permission) ensures legitimacy of children born thereafter.

Nonetheless, one can generalize that the disabilities of age, a feature of our legal system for centuries, serve two purposes: to protect the "infant" from his own rash decisions and to protect society against the consequences (Kleinfeld 1970-71). Thus the status of minority creates both unique responsibilities and unique privileges for children. Juvenile court and educational laws are illustrative. School attendance typically is a child's duty as well as one borne by parents. A child is also obliged not to defy reasonable parental orders. He must avoid immoral and unwholesome companions and such other disapproved conduct as is legally proscribed for those of tender years. At the same time, it has been asserted that he benefits from modification of criminal procedures and mitigation of customary penalties surrounding the process of bringing juveniles to book for acts which, if committed by adults, would be violations of law. The institutional arrangements for redirecting youthful, as compared with adult, offenders have centered on the juvenile court. This is also the forum for those nonconforming youth who defy school attendance laws or commit the specific immoralities set forth in juvenile court laws. Indeed, an examination of this forum and of the laws which generate its jurisdiction will provide a fund of information about the thrust of modern children's laws and their rationale.

The term "child" also signifies relationship. In general, "child" in statutes and other legal instruments is construed to mean natural-born legitimate issue. But there are important exceptions to the rule, of which the most conspicuous are found in social legislation. For example, the tendency is to treat the the adopted child as in every sense the legal equivalent of legitimate natural children. Dependency, moreover, often supplements lawful blood relationships, as a criterion for benefits. Grandchildren, stepchildren, illegitimate children, as well as legitimate and adopted children, may be included under cover of the word "child". "The only rule is to look at the context and then to judge what the word means" (Encyclopedia Britannica 1964, p. 514). For now, it should suffice to note that a careful definition of terms is as necessary to understanding laws concerning children as in other fields of law. The commonplace nature of the terms may obscure this fact. "Child", "juvenile", and similar labels of age and relationship are not usually thought of as terms of art. Yet in specific contexts they take on specific meanings. It is essential to consider the context in which the term is employed and the meaning which legislation, judicial decision, or administrative regulation ascribes.

The English Heritage

The essence of English common law related to children is briefly stated. It is the establishment - or, more properly, the formal reinforcement - of the rights and duties of parent and child and the protection of an individual's lawful rights and entitlements during minority. Aside from occasional antiquarian measures, primarily affecting labor control or poor relief (but nonetheless relevant to parent-child relationships), most child welfare enactments date from the nineteenth century.

Historically, parents were duty bound to support and educate their children. They enjoyed the right to chastise or correct, to determine religious affiliation, to control custody and appoint guardians, and to enjoy the earnings and services (but not the estates) of their children. Nonetheless, although common law sets forth this range of parental rights and duties, the status of the duties as "imperfect" (or unenforceable) obligations under common law rendered them of limited utility to the child or to others who sought enforcement, in his or their own behalf.

Nor should one regard the aforementioned rights and duties as a set of eternal prescriptions. They represent the culmination of centuries of movement away from restrictions imposed on parental choice under feudalism. For example, before 1660 in England, a father lacked the power to appoint a guardian for his minor children. Guardianship in its many forms initially served to protect the interests of a feudal lord in a tenant's estate during the minority of that tenant's heir. Thirteenth-century English law recognized rights of wardship which enabled the lord to administer the estate as guardian during the heir's minority. Early forms of guardianship conferred rights profitable or advantageous to the guardian. Although an early law, the Statue of Marlborough of 1267, penalized the guardian for "waste", it did not hold him to account for any other type of abuse, and many centuries elapsed before guardianship became the regulated, child-oriented measure we know today (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 1964, p. 512).

Nor have guardians been required, by general legal principle, for all children. Unlike legal systems evolving out of Roman law, the English and, on the whole, the American law failed to set forth blanket protections universally applicable to those of infant status. As a result, child protective doctrines emerged gradually and, until the introduction of juvenile courts, they were principally oriented to the protection of infants of means.

Legal developments from feudal to industrial times reflect efforts to preserve the wealth of landed, fatherless minors and to buttress socially acknowledged attributes of parenthood. On the whole, they were of little consequence to the propertyless except to the extent that poverty policies intersected with the law of parent and child. The status of illegitimacy had ordained consequences in the administration of poor relief as a result of enactments in the sixteenth century. Parental determination of a child's occupation was foreclosable at the initiative of poor-law officials in cases involving parents who were poor or otherwise regarded as part of a degraded social class (tenBroek 1964).

However, before the nineteenth century the law generally did not contemplate the intervention of supervening authority, should parental behavior fall short of minimally accepted standards. *Shelley v. Westbrook* (37 Eng. Rep. 850 (Ch. 1817) and *Wellesley* (*Wellesley v. The Duke of Beaufort*, 38 Eng. Rep. 236 (Ch. 1827); *Wellesley v. Wellesley*, 4 Eng. Rep. 1078 (H.L. 1828) are two examples of a change of heart on the part of the chancery court in this regard. Some groundwork had earlier been laid as the court of chancery[1] moved, during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, slowly to extend the concept of wardship, assumed in delegation of the sovereign's powers as *parens patriae*, from property matters to abuse of the power to chastise. This resulted, specifically, in chancery's entertaining actions for assault against the person concerned, whether parent, guardian, teacher, or employer. The decision in *Shelley* denied custody of his children to the poet on the grounds of his behavior and atheistic beliefs. In *Wellesley* the scandalous conduct of Wellesley, proved by financial irresponsibility, adultery, and coarse language vented in his children's presence, resulted in the victory of his deceased wife's relatives over the father's claim to custody. The automatic superiority of the father's custodial rights was denied in these two instances of judicial action predicated on the theory of *parens patriae*.

Although expansion of wardship responsibilities first occurred in the chancery courts, many of these doctrines were eventually received into the common law courts as well. In speaking of the "common law" aspects of our English heritage, therefore, we may for convenience merge doctrines which evolved in discrete courts. In fact they comprised a body of judge-made laws, much of which came into the United States at the time of colonization and thereafter, forming the legal source of secular rights and responsibilities affecting children.

Canon law was the fountainhead of laws pertaining to the sacramental side of marriage and parent-child relations. It was canon law which stated the conditions of marriage and separation and distinguished the bastard from the legitimate child. Although this ecclesiastical legal system merged with the courts of the realm during the reign of Henry VIII, a burden of doctrinal inheritance has been evident into the twentieth century.

Even during the centuries before the English Reforma-

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[1] The English court of chancery, originating in the fourteenth century, developed a body of principles and remedies (equity) designed to supplement the courts of common law. This jurisdiction of equity was exercised in one general court system in some American states, whereas in others (as in England) a separate court system was established. Equity's jurisdiction included guardianship matters. Following upon court reform, courts of equity and common law have been combined in courts of general jurisdiction.

tion, the church and common law courts were often at odds over the rules of laws which ought to be enforced. For example, canon law countenanced the legitimation of illegitimate issue of parents who married subsequent to birth of the child. The common law position, on the other hand, was to regard as illegitimate any issue conceived out of lawful wedlock, and this position was maintained until 1926 when reversed by act of Parliament. Since the common law controlled the settlement of property disputes, we may speak of it as the more important source of English law on illegitimacy.

As a nation drawing heavily on English legal sources, the United States has naturally been influenced by these historic repositories, the canon law and common law. Yet the conditions of a frontier society and the pressure to absorb and acculturate successive waves of immigrants produced a timetable of reform which differs from that of the "mother" country.

Notable examples are found in our relatively early experimentation with adoption, in American doctrine on common law marriages, and in a relative (though insufficient) relaxation of laws pertaining to illegitimates (Krause 1971). These were responses to the felt necessity for formality and certainty within the context of intimate relationships which, owing to pioneering and immigration, were subject to unusual stress. The desire for a family "line", the importance of protecting de facto families, were matters to which the raw recruits to state legislatures could be expected to bend sympathetic ears. By so doing they were, in their own way, responding to the wishes of a native "aristocracy" and rejecting foreign legal influences. The insistence on preserving blood lines and ancient inheritances of land, which so long dominated English law, was an alien tradition among the inhabitants of the frontier or the melting pot.

Nineteenth-Century Humanitarians and "Child Savers"

The nineteenth century marks the premediatated intrusion of government into child-rearing. I have already indicated that it would be a mistake to consider the outpouring of child protective legislation in isolation from several other characteristics of modern society. Industrialization and urbanization, the rise in political consciousness of the masses and the extension of suffrage to women, the growth of large-scale organization in business, labor, and government - these were among the phenomena with which nineteenth century society sought to contend. They colored social perception of and response to the needs of children. A disparate array of youth - from foundlings to street Arabs, from child laborers to endangered young virgins, from immigrant illiterates to native-born thieves - claimed the attention of reformers. Their conceptions of the problems to be solved and the solutions to be sought are, in many instances, alive to this day.

Two strands of child-protection legislation in the United States illustrate the dominant, and in some ways inconsistent, rationales of welfare legislation which have fought for supremacy in the legislative chambers and the corridors of administrative agencies. One is the deviancy-control approach, which, as Platt (1969) demonstrates guided the "child savers". The other might be called, for want of a more precise image, that of structural reform. Neither approach exists in a pure form, but this need not detract from the usefulness of categorizing legislation according to its dominant rationale. The exercise should prove its worth when the policy implications of a particular legislative posture are considered.

Structural Reform, or the Enhancement of Opportunity

Both in England and in the United States the battle for prohibition of child labor was intertwined with a struggle to extend state-supported education for children. The two countries diverged notably, however, as to the stages of legislative and administrative process through which they passed and the patterns of eventual compromise. Thus in England the child-labor struggle progressed industry by industry and resulted in eventual adoption of a pattern of half work, half school. Now obsolete, the pattern has left discernible traces in the current requirement of released time for education in behalf of minors who leave school at the earliest opportunity to go to work (Great Britain 1944).

In the United States greater efforts were made to secure a blanket prohibition of child labor. The reformers sought to tie the child labor ban to compulsory education laws so that the two sets of law would be mutually reinforcing. This country had the advantage of English experience by the time child labor was perceived as a major problem. Many who opposed the exploitation of child labor appreciated the difficulties of an industry-based approach, and they had witnessed the administrative frailties of meagerly budgeted, centrally organized inspectorates such as those set up in England after 1832. This is not to say that American reformers avoided the errors of England or traps of their own design. And it is likely that the single most important influence on child-labor legislation in America was tangential to the subject matter itself.

Thus it can be argued that the roots of the American child labor and compulsory education movements are found in American political ideology, rather than in humanitarian reaction to the evils themselves. The ideal of representative government elevates literacy to prominence; political participation presumes discourse and communication. However genuine the revulsion of humanitarians to exploitation of children in the mills or fields -- and their concerns are well documented here and in England-it is notable that the American approach to eliminating the evil of child labor sharply contrasts with that adopted overseas. In England public outrage was pointedly directed to abuses perpetuated within particular industries. It was the hazard of slow suffocation or deformity which Jonas Hanway vigorously attacked respecting the employment of young chimney sweeps. The stunting effects of laboring in the narrow tunnels of mines, or of crouching for hours between the spindles in the cotton manufacturies, alarmed the public. In England these exposes did not generate a movement for universal education, whereas in the United States, as early as the late eighteenth century, governmental policies favoring universal education were established in the Ordinance of the Northwest Territory. Even older antecedents are traceable to enactments of the Virginia and Massachusetts Bay colonies laying upon local officials the duty to educate children of the poor or in some instances all the children of the township (Jernegan 1931).

A sturdy, prideful yeomanry of America was contrasted by Noah Webster to the illiterate peasantry of the English countryside (Boorstin 1958). The vision of a classless society and the adherence to the ideal of self-government lent special meaning to efforts to relate child-labor prohibitions to compulsory education laws. Prohibiting child labor furthered an administrative push to secure improved enforcement of the education laws. In this sense the battle for eliminating a documented evil was part and parcel of a profound restructuring of society.

Yet even as the drive to perfect enforcement of these complementary sets of law can be seen as an opportunity creating strategy, it is notable that the particular targets of enforcement campaigns are reminiscent of deviancy-control approaches to social problems. Neither child-labor bans nor compulsory-education laws are class defined; rather, they are age-specific measures, which make special provision for the slow or handicapped or maladjusted and special allowance for certain occupations, hours, or seasons. This institutional approach notwithstanding, the specific targets of enforcement usually have been, and are today, children in "multiproblem" (formerly "immigrant" or "farm") families. These social deviants have been identified as the noncooperators in the context of a "liberal" social philosophy: they are the poverty-pressed families who are enticed by the lure of children's earnings to deceive employers or officials, or the recalcitrant youth who prefer the "fast buck" or the freedom of nonaccountable street pursuits to the conventions of the classroom.

For the sake of the children, either to rescue them from indifferent or "evil" parents or to reeducate them in the necessities of literacy, imposition of sanctions has been justified. A central instrument of enforcement policy has been the juvenile court; however large or small the ratio of truant children brought before it, it commands an acknowledged ultimate sanction--- the power to interrupt prevailing custodial arrangements and patterns of daily living. It thus undoubtedly has leverage which affects the response of the recalcitrant or misguided to the actions of officials.

Deviancy-Control, or the Reform of Individuals

At the same time that a substantial change in America was being fostered by direct manipulation of social institutions, a special field of child welfare was being carved out of the preexisting agencies of undifferentiated response to the poor and helpless. By the late 1800s we come upon the Age of Rescue. The "Child Savers" were a generation, mainly women, who sought to "domesticate" (the term is Paulsen's (1967), though he uses it in a quite different context) both humanitarian zeal and the learning of nascent behavioral sciences, in the interests of practical reform (Platt 1969).

It has been said that the nineteenth century was a time of retrieving, from among the hitherto undifferentiated population of almshouse residents and other paupers, the "deserving" poor. The rise of specialized child care, of relief for the blind, and of burgeoning numbers of voluntary associations with parochial interests attests to the basic validity of this point (Mencher 1967). What is submerged in the generalization, however, is the diversity of the groups selected for aid or service; nowhere perhaps is their wide range more evident than among the young, for whom a variety of programs were invented.

In nineteenth-century American consciousness, children levied insistent demands for classification. Roughly speaking, those first singled out seem to have been groups particularly responsive to educational techniques: the blind and deaf, the errant. Later on, society edged toward assumption of public responsibility for certain unfortunate victims of fate: the orphaned or otherwise homeless, the exploited-- in short youngsters living, at the time of rescue, under unsavory conditions. It may be worth noting, in line with Platt's thesis that the juvenile court was the creature of maternalism, that early nineteenth-century reforms, which were infused with an educational mission, were dominated by men, whereas the later and (as it happened) more influential reforms were those of moral salvation led by women. The educationally inspired efforts of the 1820s to 1840s might, had they been continued, have led to wholesale extension of the principles implicit in compulsory education laws-- principles favoring classlessness and political competence-- without undue concern for the question of conformity. But these proponents for educational reform were submerged in the child-rescue movement engendered by the principles of charity organization: restoration or protection of the deserving poor. The latter stance necessarily dictated an individualistic perspective. This in turn provided a fertile soil for a certain kind of reform, the legacy of which we reap today.

Contemporary observers viewed the ills besetting youth as uniquely urban. As Louise Bowen complained, "It is said that we are going to be the largest and most beautiful city in the world (Chicago), but what is it going to profit us if our children lose their soulsl" (Humphrey 1937). One notable reformer, Charles Loring Brace, labored strenuously for foster homes as the ultimate solution to the social evils confronting children. He was captivated by the virtues of fresh air and hard labor in farm families, where he placed the vast majority of his children, as much as by the benefits of family living. Others, especially the Roman Catholics, preferred institutions where programs of education, moral training, work, and religious instruction were visible and under direct control of the sponsoring body (Warner 1894).

But whichever remedy was being urged, in the eyes of the public they served the same basic purpose: provision of the kind of firm authority and human warmth which the target populations-- the abandoned, orphaned, wayward, and so forth-- by definition seemed to lack. Considerable stress was placed on hard work; even young children were not exempt from its soul-saving properties, and the older and more difficult child population (especially those considered as wayward or delinquent) were to experience a particularly strenuous regime (Pickett 1969).

The character of modern child care was set by 1875. The remainder of the nineteenth century proved to be a testing ground of administrative machinery, rather than of new concepts of service. The two devices for enforcement which carried into the twentieth century were the child "resuce" societies and the juvenile court. What Platt (1969) says of the rescue societies is equally applicable to the juvenile courts in their role of reeducators of delinquent and wayward children: "These self-appointed guardians of children's physical and moral integrity provided the administrative machinery for policing and enforcing welfare laws which, without their participation, would have been generally unenforceable" (p. 108).

And with the creation of administrative machinery that proved itself workable and stable, a subtle but profound change in the child welfare scene occurred. No longer were child protective standards enforced by episodic recourse to litigation, by periodic application of pressure by incensed community observers, or even by voluntary efforts of specialized private associations. For although these factors were, and still are, sources of community standards and enforcement strategies in the child care field, the main burden shifted to governmental agencies. Volunteer child savers were replaced by "child treaters" (Platt's term) who, if not deserving the accolade "professional", sought public recognition of the scientific base of their work.

Their "successes" in this regard deserve comment because they established several persisting patterns in child welfare. Both in the juvenile courts and in the state and local agencies of public child welfare which handled the less deviant (more "deserving") child population, administrative bureaucracies were rapidly created with all the familiar trappings of professionalstandards, merit examinations, and institutional loyalties. They kept the statistics which would justify their continued existence and warrant increases in personnel and budget. In both places, the court and the child welfare agency, the full-time worker with professional orientation (but often without professional training) edged out the indigant volunteer.

Thus, with the notable exception of the child labor-compulsory education movement, campaigns for improved laws concerning children have concentrated on the deviant child or the so-far innocent child of deivant parents. Few observers associated the mounting numbers of child dependents with the accumulating evidence of social risks-- some of them the modern products of urban life and work in industry. Most Children's Crusaders had a different view. In their eyes, the needs of children tended to be individualized (and sentimentalized).

The dominant theme of the "new" law has been child protection. It presupposes passivity of children as its ideal. It permits the possiblity that the passive can become corrupted or misguided. Child protection thus encompasses the tasks of both salvation and reeducation. These are the underlying purposes of social legislation for children. Together with the older law of parent and child laid down over seven centuries, they form the modern legal framework for the definition and implementation of permissible standards of behavior by and toward children.

Law and Child Development

In considering the current effect of law on child development we will be aided if we differentiate the various functions which legal systems can perform.

Status Definition

First of all, they provide a formal definition of a family and the status of children therein-whether legitimate or illegitimate, and hence able to claim relationship to father (and his collateral relatives) as well as to mother (and hers). These incidents of status govern duties of support and other parental responsibilities and establish a child's rights to care and support, to inheritance, to a title or a surname.[2] Adoption laws parallel those which surround the natural parent-child relationship; increasingly, they imitate the legal incidents of legitimate status. Not only is the full range of rights and duties affecting parent and child applicable to adoptees as well as children born in wedlock but modern adoption statutes also extend equal rights of inheritance to and from collateral relatives. Moreover, adoption, properly consummated, is a "permanent" relationship. Its dissolution, in an ever increasing number of states, calls for the same acts of renunciation of severance as would apply to the natural-born legitimate child.

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[2] They have also influenced the distribution of public benefits and the grounds of intervention for child protective purposes, but recent constitutional challenges have modified the disabilities attached to illegitimacy. Thus, Levy v. Louisiana (391 U.S. 68 (1968)) stands for the proposition that a state statute denying illegitimate children a wrongful death claim for the death of their mother is unconstitutional. A 1972 Supreme Court decision, Stanley v. Illinois (405 U.S. 645 (1972)), held unconstitutional the denial of a hearing to an unwed father whose custody of his children was being challenged, notwithstanding the fact that the state law defined parents to mean "the father and mother of a legitimate child, or the survivor of them, or the natural mother of an illegitimate child, and...any adoptive parent" but not the unwed father. In the same term, the Court also struck down a state law forbidding illegitimate children from recovery of Workmen's Compensation benefits following the death or their fathers (Weber v. Aetna Casualty & Insurance Co., 404 U.S. 821 (1972)).

Legal Immunity

Laws further afford children immunity under certain circumstances. They cannot sue or be sued below the age of majority unless exceptions to this general rule have been enacted. They cannot make wills or independently dispose of property. Guardians are the legal entities through whom the young must act in property transactions in the absence of special statutory authorization.

Children are "nonpersons" in the eyes of the law insofar as civil competence and liability are concerned. Particular problems arise when these children act like adults: when they buy and sell and seek medical care, or when they themselves bear children (Michigan Governor's Special Commission. . . 1971). And the criminal responsibility of children has been modified by juvenile court legislation.[3] Such laws typically confer upon the juvenile courts exclusive original jurisdiction over children under eighteen years (though several states have lower age limits) who are neglected, dependent, or charged with acts which would be violations of law if committed by adults (Rubin 1970). With respect to the latter ground of jurisdiction, delinquency, the most heinous offenses are sometimes excluded; if charged with murder or arson, for instance, a juvenile may be transferred for trial to criminal court. In some states he must be prosecuted in this way. Yet on the whole it is safe to say that juvenile courts supplant criminal court jurisdiction. The well-known theory is that juveniles, possessing reduced responsibility for their misdeeds, should be treated, from initial point of contact (apprehension or arrest) to treatment (disposition or sentence), in a manner appropriate to their impressionable and correctable stage of life.

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[3] At common law, both in England and the United States, a child under seven was considered to be incapable of crime. (This floor of incontrovertible incapacity has been raised by statute in nearly all jurisdictions-- e.g., to thirteen in Illinois). Between the ages of seven and fourteen he was presumptively incapable but upon a proper showing that he understood the nature and consequences of his act he could be held responsible for his crime. Age fourteen marked the age of full accountability. Special judicial handling of juveniles proceeds in recognition of two policy arguments: that corrective measures are needed in relation to juveniles who are too young to be prosecuted criminally for their "criminal" conduct and that such corrective action and modified procedures as the juvenile court has at its disposal represent a more appropriate response to their misbehavior even when the juveniles in question have attained the age of criminal responsibility.

Moreover, there is evidence, from other branches of laws, of a considerable reluctance to perpetuate the ancient nonperson status of the child. Efforts to lower the voting age, to impose liability under contracts on minors (a reflection of their market power as consumers), and otherwise to place adult responsibility on youths under twenty-one indicate dissatisfaction with the old inherited rules.

Immunity, therefore, although hardly a principle to be abandoned, is likely to be modified both as to the acts of legal consequence and as to the age of general application. We can anticipate the modification of the principle with respect to specific rules and a lowering of the age of majority for general purposes from twenty-one to eighteen.

Nurture

There also also laws which relate to the nurture of children. Largely, however, they achieve this end through negative means. They penalize cruelty to children. They proscribe neglect and provide for the substitution of custodians or guardains in lieu of blameworthy parents. They prohibit "sale" of children or their upbringing by nonrelated and unregulated caretakers. Thus we have laws against baby farming, against interstate importation of children without prior investigation of the homes of reception, against "black market" adoptions, against unlicensed day or full-time foster care. From state to state the coverage of such laws varies; enforcement efforts are generally conceded to be spotty and inadequate. (Costin 1968). The deficiencies of foster-care or day-care law are particularly notable with respect to young children whose mothers are employed. Haphazard and hazardous arrangements for their care are commonplace risks for this group, and doubtless even more acute for children of the very poor. One suspects that the risk of unregulated day care for children in the United States, overall, is greater than in nations which more commonly provide day care as a matter of course, through employers or the state.

Noting this deficiency, however, will serve to emphasize that laws relating to the nurture and early development of children have only recently sought to expand state performance. Hitherto laws have stressed enforcement of parental duties, such as child support (Bosley 1970). And social legislation has tended to be cast in the form of prohibitions or, as in the case of licensing provisions, in the form of minimal standards covering such items as staff competence, sanitation, hygiene, and physical safety. The laws typically seek not to promote standards of excellence, but to prohibit the intolerable: beatings or other types of neglect or cruelty, or the exploitation presumed to attend commercial trade in young people. This posture of regulation or prohibition inevitably introduces problems of detection and enforcement. Although statutory amendment and judicial decision are useful tools in strengthening enforcement machinery, ultimate success in achieving consistent enforcement of such minimal protection laws turns on the vision and competence of administrative staff, the number of persons devoted to thsee efforts, and public opinion toward the particular laws proscribing or regulating conduct.

Licensing in child welfare offers innumerable illustrations of the intractable problems which impede achievement of enforcement ideals. No two persons-- not even among acknowledged experts in child care-necessarily agree on the amount of cubic space to be provided each child in a day-care center, or the qualifications of staff necessary in that or a like setting. Who will resolve these differences? How will licensing regulations be promulgated? Controlling statutes do not always make the answers clear, nor have answers emerged from those lawyers who have debated the "constitutional issue of what is and what is not delegation of legislative power." As Davis (cited in Paulsen 1968, p. 75) has observed, "The basic constitutional issue. . . respecting delegation is not the bare question whether the challenged statute delegates power or expresses standards to guide the exercise of power conferred upon administrators, but whether the procedure established for the exercise of power furnishes adequate safeguards against arbitrary action affecting those subject to administrative action." In the relatively untested field of child-care licensing, this basic issue is yet unresolved (Paulsen 1968; Costin 1968).

A few laws may be said to approach nurture from a more positive standpoint. Yet in general they are restricted in applicability to a segment of the child population which is relatively easy to detect and reach, namely school-age children. One might cite compulsory vaccination laws, or school medical examination provisions, among the strategies for improving the physical condition of children. Similarly, heavily subsidized or "free" school lunches or milk allowances exemplify an attempt to prevent nutritional deficiency and thus to avoid the later need for remediation. Again, programs of health visiting and infant-welfare clinics illustrate the preventive or "opportunity" strategy. Yet the imperfections of existing techniques for case-finding and for persuading the reluctant to avail themselves of these benefits, and the competition among public services for funds and personnel, interpose obstacles to the effective implementation of these programs.

Education

Law, as we have already seen, performs a function with respect to education. Originally a duty put on the parent to educate his child, the legal obligation respecting youthful education has been extended to the state. The character of its responsibility, as well as the parent's and the child's, has been progressively expanded and clarified. The laws of every state demand that free publicly supported education be provided to children within a specified age range. They further compel the child to attend, in the absence of a permissible excuse, and the parents to cooperate. They provide penalties for recalcitrant parents and modes of correction, via the juvenile court, for nonattending children.

To be sure, our laws allow some room for parental choice; parochial or other privately maintained schooling is an acceptable alternative to attendance at a public school. The laws also confine the requirement to provide schooling to children regarded as "educable." The state, through its various school districts, is not inescapably bound to educate the severly retarded or physically immobile or chronically defiant troublemakers. Indeed, some critics of the educational system feel its obligation to instruct the less readily taught or less rewarding pupils should be strengthened. It is asserted, for example, that the school "kick-out" is today a greater problem than the "dropout."

Special education has been extended in many states largely as a result of parent-interest groups. Thus the lines between ineducable and educable retarded children have been clarified, and success has been achieved in some states in transforming laws empowering school districts to expend their funds on educable retarded from a permissive authority to a mandatory duty (Peterson, Rossmiller, and Voltz 1996). And classes, or even separate schools, for truant or delinquent or otherwise maladjusted children represent a common response of school systems to the challenge of fulfilling their statutory obligation to instruct the young when they judge their "clients" to be too uninterested, disruptive, or "sick" to be contained in ordinary classrooms (Peterson, Rossmiller, and Voltz 1969).

But a compulsory school-attendnace law depends upon general parental support of (or indifference to) the method and content of education. Where wholesale resistance to local schools is generated by some issue--be it integration or decentralization or something else-- the law may become unenforceable. Earlier it was suggested that in practice (though not in theory) truancy prosecutions of parents or juvenile court actions against children or nonattendance are laid upon a highly selected population. These parents and children are often deviants in some other respect--by poverty, or immigrant or minority group status, or by possession of a dossier which signals family disorganization. If, however, a deviant group coalesces in opposition to policies which the community as a whole will not accept, the "normal" implementation of nonattendance laws may become impossible. It is inconceivable that all the parents boycotting a public school (whatever the precipitating issue) will be prosecuted under truancy laws. In some instances the parents will represent the views dominant among school officials themselves, in which case the latter, being sympathetic to the cause activating the parent group, are disinclined to seek wholesale prosecution. Or it may be that school officials are unsympathetic to parent interests but nonetheless see enforcement of the law as yet another source of parent-school administration friction and avoid relying on the obvious legal remedy in the hope of calming down an already inflammatory situation.

The important thing, from the standpoint of this analysis, is that a commonplace and typically noncontroversial weapon in the armamentarium of the legal system may be "inactivated" for reasons which have little to do either with the theory of the compulsory school attendance law or with the technical excellance of a community's enforcement procedures. The reasons are political: they stem from the perceived constriction of normal channels of access to political influence. Whether the cause of constriction is supervening standards imposed by judicial fiat, as in the Supreme Court's order to integrate in Brown v. Board of Education (311 U.S. 693 (1954)), or the remoteness of citizen groups to political control, as in the school "decentralization" controversies, the frustration of affected parent groups becomes an explosive emotion. Enforcement of attendance laws, in this context, may well be regarded as activating a charge of dynamite. Thus a law, grounded in historic tradition and established in use against deviant groups, is rendered impotent. The search for new levers must be pursued; organizational strategies will probably be emphasized increasingly as the major means of achieving educational goals (Street 1969).

Where do we turn? What does a legal system have to offer educational institutions in their search for stability and control? How may certain larger values, honored by the

United States Supreme Court, be effectuated in schools dominated by local control? The evidence from experimental approaches to date is far from reassuring. Brown v. Board of Education (1954) issued a clarion call for integration; some years after its demand for "all deliberate speed", we find "the situation remains largely one of paper compliance and continued segregation" (Schwartz 1967). Although the South may be presenting formidable obstacles to implementing Brown, it is increasingly apparent that the problems in the North are no less vexatious. In a review of efforts to overcome de facto segregation in the public schools, Schwartz (1967) comments that the studies demonstrate "legal ineffectiveness in coping with the civil rights problem." And he poses a challenging question:

> If integration were achieved through political or legal action, would it help to eliminate racial inequality? . . . If the cities become overwhelmingly black, would integration become a meaningless policy?
>
> Alternatively, the achievement of integration may be far less satisfactory a method of promoting educational achievement for Negroes than compensatory education . . . (Yet) the legal-political apparatus has in some ways inhibited (exploring this possibility). In the adversary context, the symbolic victory for Negroes tends to be phrased in terms of winning the right of Negroes to be treated as others are, rather- - perhaps -- than in the way that would benefit them most. (Pp. 8-9)

Meanwhile, the struggle to effectuate Brown proceeds. Litigation in federal courts, legislation introduced in state assemblies, pressure on school boards and officials- - all are recognized tactics in a major battle within the civil rights "war". They derive potency from the deference, the acceptance, we are accustomed to accord the legal system and the products of political compromise. As Schwartz suggests, "The legal process has played a not unimportant part in furthering the civil rights movement. It provided an initial legitimization of the grievances of the Negroes" (p. 10). Having done so, however, the legal system itself occupies center stage under the spotlight of critical attention. Lawmakers alone cannot convert "equal justice under law" from "a cruel shibboleth to a vibrant reality" (Schwartz 1967, p. 10). But they may offer powerful help by changing the rules of the game. And by altering the context in which problems are viewed, they may also alter the sensitive points to which legal levers can profitably be applied.

Some efforts to achieve integration have been indirect. For example, certain laws attempt, feebly perhaps, yet innovatively, to achieve a redistribution of resources among schools and school districts in the hope of clearing the path for direct assault on segregated schools. The Federal Elementary and Secondary School Education Act of 1965 and Operation Head Start represent modest attempts to redistribute wealth. Proposals like the Carnegie Corporation's for a "GI Bill" for the deprived illustrate a similar thrust of policy directed at college-age students. The imperfections of existing laws and the piecemeal character of current proposals underscore the overwhelming task of redistribution which confronts us. They highlight the essentially political challenge to both legal and non-legal institutions. The "legal" issues in education are major public concerns, not mere technical niceties of interest to a small professional audience or to a single family or administrator.

The integration struggle aside, it can be said that twentieth-century educational policy has markedly affected adolescents and young adults. We have seen an accelerating trend among the states to extend free (or very low tuition) college educations. In this connection, the laws are wholly facilitative, rather than controlling. They convert a duty to become minimally educated into an opportunity to become moderately or extensively educated. They rely on a reduction or abolition of tuition charges to offer incentive. The desired end of social policy-- higher education for a larger proportion of the population-- is sought through use of "carrots": low cost, convenient access to facilities, and (often) the special character of curricula.

And this very difference in approach to educational policy-- the reliance on incentive, as opposed to the imposition of sanctions-- raises questions respecting those education laws which affect primary- and secondary-school students. Should there be a duty to obtain at least some kind of postsecondary education? Or, alternatively, should there continue to be a legal obligation to attend school until age eighteen or even sixteen? Can we justify, other than historically, the coexistence of laws which specify age-related duties, backed by sanctions, and laws which hold out opportunities to be availed of according to individual preference?

Inevitably, an arbitrary element intrudes upon all age-related obligations. As was noted earlier, the age at which a duty or a privilege ceases varies according to the subject and the histroical-cum-accidental determinants of a policy within a given state. Yet this observation may prove the point that there is nothing sacred about our educational law formulations; they are ever subject to review and revision. As we now move toward payment for forms of work-study by high-school students during summer holiday, we may soon modify the age-related requirements for full-time schooling throughout the normal school year (cf. Forer 1970). At the very least, the use of compulsion to achieve conformity among the six- to sixteen-year-olds has been cast in a different light since new approaches (inherent in extension of state-funded higher education and in the Poverty Program work-study innovations) have made their mark on public consciousness (Burns and Stern 1967); Schafer and Polk 1967; White House Conference on Children 1970).

Work

The issue of work, in turn, relates to another function of legal systems which has special relevance to children. They affect the child as a worker. Historically, English and American laws have both penalized failure to work, at whatever age work was regarded as an appropriate activity, and laws have conferred on officials (e.g., the "guardians of the poor") considerable power to dictate the type of work to be pursued (Rosenheim 1966; ten Broek 1964). Today we are apt to think only of the child-labor provisions, but to limit ourselves thus would result in an incomplete picture of laws relating to the worker status of children.

It is true that the child-labor laws impinge on the greatest number of youths; they are protected (and thwarted) by proscriptions against entering certain occupations, operating certain kinds of machinery, working beyond certain hours. Pressure has been brought to bear in recent years to modify regulations so as to permit part-time work and a wider range of summer employment. Interest in liberalizing these regulations arises from the public's desire to encourage "productive" activity on the part of youth. It is widely recognized that the extensive sweep of child-labor laws (and their supporting regulations) hampered youth who were motivated to seek work, partly because of changes in the urban job market since the regulations were drafted. At the same time the teenage population, the major source of part-time and summertime job seekers, has increased enormously. Thus we can trace an effort in public policy to accommodate the protective sentiments underlying the child labor laws to the reality produced by the "baby boom" years.

Yet it seems likely that several factors will circumscribe the thrust for modification. For one thing, the existence of child-labor evils in agriculture, perpetuated by a demand for migrant labor, serves to remind us of the difficulties of securing protection without constant vigilance. Promoting the access of a few youngsters to jobs would be a high price to pay for erosion of protective standards whose worth is widely conceded but whose enforcement yet remains difficult in a few lines of work and regions of the country.

More important, however, is the fact that labor market trends do not promise sufficient numbers of part-time or summertime jobs to make modification of child labor laws a realistic method of expanding work opportunities for youth. Rather, it appears that simulated-work and community-sponsored work projects, some tied in with formal education, will offer greater opportunity for youth to acquire the necessary habits and attitudes of employees and secure early experience with the adult role of worker. And it is safe to predict that youth will be paid for their participation, though a type of means test (possibly poverty-neighborhood-oriented rather than individually administered) may serve to limit payment to boys and girls from poorer families.

At the same time that modern policy is oriented toward expanding opportunities for work, statute books reflect vestiges of a philosophy punishing idleness. The vagrancy laws penalize the status of being idle and without visible means of support. Our knowledge of how these laws are implemented leaves much to be desired. Studies conducted within the last two decades, however, strongly suggest that vagrancy laws are primarily tools used by the police and lower courts to control social nuisances and minor offenders (Foote 1956). They are primarily relied on to deal with older persons. Juvenile court laws and related city ordinances aimed at juveniles (such as curfew ordinances) also afford the police power to control disapproved behavior when the actors are minors. Thus, though one is forced to guess, it seems reasonable to conclude that vagrancy laws are of little practical consequence to the child and adolescent population being considered here; but if this is so it indicates that the sweep of juvenile laws confers sufficient authority to control.

Therefore, policies disapproving idleness are expressed in other, and often more direct, ways with respect to the young. There are of course the compulsory school-attendance laws adverted to earlier; they curtial idleness , in addition to promoting learning. Juveniles are compelled under threat of law to avoid unwholesome and immoral companions; the latter may be construed to include others who are idle like themselves. Adults are under no such clear obligation to avoid the idle and dissolute. However, if dependent for support on public benefits, the poor- - young and old alike -- are compelled to work or train for employment, should the administrators of the public assistance program under which they seek benefits determine that they are suitable for such "productive" activity.

The 1967 Amendments to the Social Security Act proclaim a policy favoring (compulsory) productive activity (42 U.S. C. § § 602, 630-44 (1968)). Whereas at one time states had been free to read such policies either in or out of their programs of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) they no longer have the option to set their policies. The 1967 Amendments (reinforced by the Talmadge Amendment of 1969) requires states to establish work-referral and work-training machinery for all primary beneficiaries (whether mother, father, or another one of the eligible caretakers of the children) and for all other family members who are no longer bound by school attendance laws and are physically and mentally fit and not otherwise already gainfully or wholesomely occupied.

The sharpest criticism of these public welfare amendments has been directed at their impact on AFDC mothers. A sure effect of the amendments is said to be an increase in the number of mothers at work or in training; the mere presence of dependent children in their homes no longer automatically protects them from social pressures on them, as financially dependent, to seek work. Before 1967, federal law had been silent on whether AFDC mothers should work; federal policy within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare had stated cautious approval of work provided suitable child-care arrangements existed and the mother herself wished to go out to work. In a word, federal policy encouraged the mother to choose, in contrast to earlier policy statements firmly discouraging any effort to work by mothers of very young children.

Nothwithstanding this federal position, the states were known to vary in their policies, many of them placing considerable pressure on mothers to accept employment or join in training programs (Bell 1965; Rosenheim 1966). Moreover, from the inception of the broadened AFDC-U program (that is, the authorization to states to include families headed by an unemployed person within the rubric of families with dependent children, 75 Stat. 75 (1961)), fathers had to accept referral for work and training in order to perpetuate their families' (and their own) eligibility for public assistance payments (42 U.S.C. § 606(b)(1) (1964)). As a condition of federal matching for AFDC-U, each state was required to establish machinery to this end and to meet specified conditions in the work and training programs set up thereunder when the AFDC recipient class was broadened.

Thus both state and federal policies in the 1960s moved in the direction of encouraging, if not insisting upon, the work or training of public-aid recipients. The 1967 amendments are intended to clarify and strengthen already evident trends. Of particular importance here is the fact that they explicitly cover youth, as well as their adult caretakers. Socially approved activity is now compulsory for children if they are dependent upon the public program of AFDC for support. With respect to these indigents, the law adopts an authoritarian posture.

We can identify two different, if not conflicting, public strategies to cope with the problem of work for young people: encouragement of participation in work-preparation projects (mainly under the Economic Opportunity Act (1964)) and reliance on compulsion, as under the 1967 Amendments to the Social Security Act. Some have called the 1967 Amendments punitive carryovers of older approaches to securing the participation of all the able-bodied in the work force. The vestiges of vagrancy laws and ancient apprenticeship laws, which empowered poor-law officials to select suitable work for dependent children under their supervision, are evident in modern welfare legislation. The old conflict of public policy over work, which assumes a sharp bitterness in an era of rising relief rolls and high unemployment among minority group youth, is still very much alive. We retain the historic, disapproving attitudes toward youth of the dependent poor at the same time that we have adopted protective views toward child labor in general. And we are searching in other corners of the bureaucratic world for new strategies to stimulate work preparation and incentive among the children of the urban dispossessed of the 1960s--children of the unemployed or unskilled, many of whom are handicapped in job competition by being black.

Discipline

The legal system has also taken unto itself responsibilities with respect to child discipline. Juvenile delinquency laws and their ancestors (the reformatory and training school statutes, for instance) have attracted the greatest attention. They represent a modification of principles which justify correction ("discipline") of adult offenders. The debate over juvenile courts does not directly question the central proposition of criminal law: that under certain circumstances the state is justified in bringing force to bear on the individual human being. In the juvenile court context the main attack has been aimed at the lack of procedural fairness. To cast the point in terms of discipline, the question becomes whether disciplinary approaches, initiated over a century ago and codified in juvenile court laws, have not become heroic instruments of social control, ordered by the courts without sufficient individualization of children and without careful weighing of the social values intended to be served.

At the same time, consideration of state-ordered discipline inevitably leads to a more fundamental issue: What are the circumstances under which state intervention is justified? Regarding minors and the special measures of juvenile justice applicable to them, a further issue is whether age alone should be the cause of extending the grounds of state action beyond those which the criminal law sets forth for adults. The Crime Commission proposes that "serious consideration should be given complete elimination from the court's jurisdiction of conduct illegal only for a child." At the least, "attempts should be made to redefine its legislative bases for action so as to make clear the intention that coercion be available only where the conduct involved carries a real risk of long-term harm to the child" (President's Commission ... 1967b, pp. 26,27).

Thus refinements and limitations of juvenile court authority as a state-authorized disciplinarian are urged. It should be noted that the law also empowers others, especially parents, to discipline. Parental authority is far-reaching, although never so extensive in Anglo-American law as in ancient codes of law (the well-known power of fathers under Roman law to put their offspring to death may be cited). It is cricumscribed only by criminal statutes (e.g., anticruelty laws and crimes against the person, generally) and by the negative standard of neglect, proof of which warrants imposing limitations on parental power (Paulsen 1966b). It is also shared with educational authorities in some states, and reasonable imposition of corrective measures is permitted to a range of child caretakers. The primary power to discipline, however, is vested in the parent. Only where the child's behavior evidences need for supplemental authority are others allowed to act. That punishment of schoolchildren by teachers generates such lively discussion is perhaps the best indicator that social attitudes toward juvenile discipline are in a state of flux; unresolved conflicts lie below the surface of discussion (e.g., Baechle 1971; Buss 1971; Taylor 1970).

Illustrative Laws

At this point it may be profitable to consider a few concrete laws which affect children. This will illuminate the manner by which legal rules are implemented and the difficulties inherent in reliance on legal regulation to achieve desired standards of conduct. It will also make plain the serious gaps in our knowledge of the practical effects of laws. These gaps materially impede our efforts to arrive at balanced judgment on the effects of these rules and to predict chances of success in rule-making directed at new problems.

Battered Child Laws

Perhaps no recent law more clearly illustrates the public's hope to secure immediate reform through legal means than the "battered child" statutes which were enacted in every state in the period 1962-67. There are several notable features of the movement to enact these laws. For one, it reflected genuine alarm about the existence of a problem which, hitherto, had commonly been considered to be solved. It will be recalled that statutory penalities against cruelty to children were among the first wave of modern child welfare enactments. Both the criminal laws prohibiting child cruelty and later statutes authorizing intervention by child-rescue societies in cases of suspected cruelty were nineteenth-century events. It had been widely assumed that physical cruelty was a deplorable fact of the past - in the Western world, at least. It had been assumed, especially by those in child welfare disciplines (who presumably give most thought to these matters) that the modern challenge was preventing or curtailing the effects of *emotional* cruelty. Professional literature reflects this shift in emphasis from physical to emotional abuse between the 1870s and the 1950s.

How do we explain, therefore, the resurgence of interest and alarm over physical mistreatment and the demand for passage of child-abuse-reporting statutes as one means of control? One important fact stands out. The rediscovery of physical cruelty is intimately related to, if not the product of, advances in radiological techniques. As most child development theorists know, the upsurge of interest followed close on the appearance of Kempe et. al.'s (1962) famous article, "The Battered-Child Syndrome." Modern X-ray techniques permit trained observer to discriminate between old healed fractures and current breaks. It is possible to identify a sequence of fractures from X-ray plates, and this knowledge may render doctors skeptical of the parent or caretaker's account, not only of the present emergency but also of accidents in the past. Alerted to the possibility that fractures and concussions could be the product of systematic abuse, medical practitioners and others then began to examine burns and injuries of other kinds in a different light. They came alive to the suspicion of deliberate violent acts perpetrated on children. No longer was the suspicion repressed, out of utter disbelief and revulsion at the possibility. Instead, systematic measures of reporting and clearing information among hospitals serving a given area were instituted (Gil 1970). The result of coordination was, of course, an increase in abuse cases, the rising numbers thus confirming the apprehension that physical abuse was a live danger to children still, as everyone knew it to be in times past (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 1964).

There also seems to be little doubt that organized groups, dedicated to the advancement of child welfare, successfully contributed to publicizing the phenomenon of child abuse and lobbying for the laws which were asserted as curative or palliative. The Children's Bureau, in fulfillment of a stated function of improving child-related legislation, undertook the drafting of model legislation, as it has done before and since on other subjects. The American Humane Association, through its Children's Division, took the same step a year later. Experts worried about an apparently mounting problem of child abuse thus had at their disposal two (and later several) sets of proposed remedies, and the resulting enactments of the fifty states attest to the impact of these models.

The nature of the enactments also offers a clue to the beliefs of those pressing for legal change. The "battered baby" or child-abuse laws are in fact reporting laws. They require certain officials and professional practitioners to submit reports of suspected abuse to specified departments of governments. The acts vary as to persons who fall into the required-reporter class; as to the department to whom reports are made; and as to the sanctions attached to noncompliance. They differ with regard to next steps imposed by law -- whether an investigation must invariably be made in follow-up, for instance -- and as to use made of information contained in the reports. Moreover, implicit in the brevity of the acts is the view that already existing substantive powers for protection are adequate. There are the well-known avenues of criminal law. Further, this position is justified by reference to juvenile court laws which uniformly confer jurisdiction over child neglect (of which abuse is a subclass) upon the juvenile courts and thereby authorize them to order supervision of the home or removal of children from parental care as individual circumstance dictates.

Child-abuse-reporting laws were not intended to expand the substantive grounds of response, whether civil or criminal. They were meant simply to strengthen case-finding by imposing, as the laws often do, mandatory duties to report on those classes of persons who, by the nature of their normal responsibilities, are likely to encounter cases of suspected abuse (Paulsen 1966b).

A prime argument advanced by professional groups in support of these provisions rested heavily on the fears, real and fancied, which were thought to be inhibiting reports of abuse. The danger of liability for violation of medical confidence was urged by hospital personnel and private practitioners. Similar inhibiting considerations were cited by schoolteachers and administrators. There was also evidence that those in the best position to detect suspected abuse were confused about the proper repository of reports, a confusion apparently compounded by past failures among theoretically appropriate agencies -- such as child welfare agencies or juvenile courts --to take (and communicate on) aggressive follow-up action when such cases had been brought to their attention. The main arguments in favor of a reporting law emerged as protection of the reporter from legal liability (or public criticism, where no grounds of liability could be advanced) and definite assignment of responsibility to one or two community agencies for investigation and remedial action.

It is evident, from examination of the laws, that the type of mistreatment intended to fall within the reach of the reporting requirements is by no means clear. Although preparatory publicity in campaigns for enactment of such laws typically stressed the "high" incidence of physical cruelty to children, the laws as drafted were not so restricted. Illinois offers a good example:

> Any (medical practitioner or dentist) having reasonable cause to believe that a child brought to him...has suffered injury or disability from physical abuse or neglect inflicted upon him, other than by accidental means, and any hospital to which a child comes...suffering from injury, physical abuse or neglect apparently inflicted upon him, other than by accidental means, shall promptly report...(Ill. Rev. Stat., c.23, § 2042 (1969))
>
> Neglect -- and thus acts of ommission as well as commission -- is included as well as the more restricted concept of abuse. It iw also worth noting that the broader the class of persons bound to report, the more difficult the task of implementing a generous definition of hazardous circumstances subject to reporting. Illinois attempted to avoid this problem by limiting the reporting duty to doctors and dentists.

Variation in coverage under these laws makes comparison of accumulating results under the reporting laws very hazardous. Ratios of child abuse cases per thousand, we learn from Gil's study (1970), vary from state to state. Comparison of abuse rates among states is not very likely to produce fruitful insights into the problem. Moreover, only in the public's mind is child abuse still a unitary phenomenon. Gil's (1970) work and that of others (e.g., Simons et.al. 1966, and other references cited in Gil, p. 36) underscore what was not obvious earlier; physical abuse of children, "while uniform in symptoms, is nevertheless likely to be diverse in causation" (p. 126).

Thus a problem for a legal system emerges. Beneath the technical aspects of reporting law - who should report, and to whom, under what circumstances, and with what consequences - is the more troublesome question of what should be reported. What, in short, is the kind of risk or behavior that society is concerned about? What nonfeasance or malfeasance, on the part of parents or substitute caretakers, ought to lead to state invertention?

The complexity of this superficially simple question is all too clear to those who have followed the course of the "battered child" laws. Even preliminary returns of experience under these laws - and they are too new to permit of measured judgement - indicate that the syndrome of child abuse is neither so clear-cut nor so responsive to the legal measures proposed - i.e., reporting requirements - as was thought at the time of campaigns to secure their passage. Gil's work indicates that the circumstances generating abuse are widely varied, that the "victims" are neither as young nor as passive as commonly thought, and that the "perpetrators" differ from the stereotypes circulated in the mass media. Moreover, we have reason to suspect - though Gil's work does not bear directly on this point - that the asserted virtue of responsibility-fixing contemplated by the laws has not paid off. The appointed agencies of response are already swamped; child-abuse responsibilities add to already heavy burdens.

One comforting possibility, however, is that child abuse may not be as endangering a phenomenon as we have inferred from mass media reports. Yet neither, it appears, is it as susceptible to simple unitary solutions as debate surrounding passage of the laws implied. Further, granted the mercurial character of the "evil" defined as the subject of legislation, it may not respond to any of the asserted remedies. In other words, if we legislate in ignorance of the true character of the problem, then the appropriateness of remedy becomes a question both of means and of ends.

Gil has been led to conclude that one basic problem, not discussed in campaigns for legislation, is that of the incidence of violence in child-rearing patterns in the United States. Abuse-reporting laws skew the kind of information available on the incidence of this phenomenon. It stands to reason that official reports will be filled with the more deviant acts of child abuse; lesser forms of mistreatment, or mistreatment perpetrated by less deviant adults, will not find their way into public records. The lower-income groups, and - disproportionately among them - minority groups, will be overrepresented in reports of harsh disciplinary measures and other abusive acts. For lack of resources to permit concealment of their deviance, these persons are more vulnerable to detection as child abusers. And allegations may be based on frail evidence and faulty reasoning, as Gil (1970), Elmer (1967), and others warn. If the solution to this dilemma is to encourage more energetic case-finding and reporting of middle-class parents by the professionals who serve them, we immediately encounter the limits of resources - personnel are taxed already to handle such reports as come in; encouraging more reports would exacerbate the overload - and the high resistance of the more affluent group. If an alternative "solution" is urged - that of foregoing intervention in behalf of children in poverty-level families because of the unfairness implied by selective action - we risk the safety of children already identified as endangered (Burt 1971). Without suggesting that this dilemma is easily or enduringly resolved, it may be noted that the dilemma is sui generis for public administrators; that is, it is nearly inevitable that in accomplishing stated legislative goals, government officials can only reach part of the target population at any given time. Although the propriety (and even constitutionality) of legislative classifications and administrative priorities is never immune from reappraisal, the ongoing task of implementation calls for selectivity and the determined will to "muddle through" under what are invariably less than ideal conditions. The principal point in terms of this paper, however, is simple, blunt, and possibly obvious: that an apparently straightforward provision for change in the law - a reporting statute with presumably clear and limited goals - brings into conflict cherished values and raises most taxing questions.

Termination of Parental Rights Law

Another set of legal provisions which has gained favor in modern times is statutes setting forth procedures for termination of parental rights. As their name implies, these laws are intended to formalize a final break in the relationship of parent and child, freeing each from rights and duties relative to the other.

The principal argument in their favor derives from adoption policy. It is argued that a separate judicial proceeding dedicated to considering termination of parental rights (hereinafter referred to as TPR) is superior as a means of freeing children for adoption to the older, formerly exclusive method of giving parental consent to adoption (Children's Bureau 1961). The consent avenue can be hazardous. The very idea implies parental power, contractually, to "dispose" of their children, whereas the state has a substantial interest in the natural parents' attempted divestment of responsibility and an equally strong interest in the proposed substitute arrangement. Moreover, if an adoption is not quickly and uneventufully consummated, the child's legal status and the natural parent's may be called into question even though consent to adopt has been given. Where, for example, a physical defect rendering a child unadoptable is discovered after a parent has made a surrender to a social agency or given consent "in blank" for adoption, recourse may later be had to this parent for support in order to relieve the state of the burden it would otherwise have to bear (Schapiro 1956, pp. 45-46, 94-95). TPR proceedings generally avoid this type of pitfall. Similarly, when delays are encountered respecting the adoption of surrendered children, questions frequently arise about the assignment of legal responsibility for custody and for the long-range planning function usually considered to be vested in a guardian. Again, TPR guards against this hazard through its built-in mechanism of mandatory appointment of guardians for children whose parental rights have been entirely severed. Until a new parent-child relationship has been substituted for the natural one, the child subject to TPR is the ward of a guardian (Children's Bureau 1961).

There is the further considerable advantage that in a TPR proceeding evaluation of the desirability of severing parental rights occurs at a time, and sometimes in a form, separate from that of the proposed adoption. Thus greater protection is afforded parent, child, and potential adopters by the formal disjuncture of questions which, while always theoretically separable, have been known to become intermingled where the giving or consent and the ordering of adoption occur in rapid succession. Related to this point is the desire expressed by many natural parents, and enthusiastically advanced by social agencies, to transfer the decision to select the prospective adoptive parents to the hands of social workers. But to effectuate this desire requires machinery whereby freeing the child for adoption and planning for a particular adoption are distinct processes.

It would be a mistake, however, to consider TPR exclusively in the adoption context. It is also intended to be available occasionally to free children from irredeemably neglectful or inadequate parents, regardless of the child's adoptive prospects. For this reason, as well as the purpose of making available for adoption those children whose parents will not give consent, TPR statutes typically provide for both "voluntary" and "involuntary" termination. Notably the grounds for involuntary TPR parallel, if not repeat, those contained in state adoption statutes for dispensing with parental consent. Such grounds as abandonment, indexes of parental status (e.g., lewdness, chronic drunkenness, or conviction for a felony) which are found to be "detrimental to the health, morals or the best interests of the minor"[4] (Wis. Stat. § 48.40 (1955)); or substantial and repeated refusal to give the minor necessary care and protection are among the oft-enumerated indicia of parental unsuitability (Children's Bureau 1961).

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[4] This language appeared at the time of study; it remains on the books.

Termination statutes and background materials - legislative reports, model acts, professional literature, and the work of special committees among them - reveal the formal means of legislation and the asserted rationale. To learn how such laws are implemented; however, requires examination of practice. In a study of termination actions in Wisconsin, some theory was borne out in fact; other findings raised questions about specific provisions in the law and about the congruence of practice with the usual expressions of philosophic position to support termination proceedings.

A study by Rosenheim and Wade (1968) examined all TPR cases scheduled for hearing in 1963 in four Wisconsin counties. The majority, as had been expected, were voluntary termination actions brought by, or in behalf of, an unmarried mother of an infant child. These data fit the then-prevailing picture of the supply side of the adoption equation. Other findings, such as data on the child's location at the time of court hearing, the mother's place of residence, and the future plans for the child[5] are equally consistent with an "adoptive" profile of TPR's function.

The nonagency termination cases cluster in the class of involuntary petition cases. And these in turn were mainly cases involving a divorced, remarried mother initiating action against a former husband, a father deprived of custody, in order to secure a child's adoption by a stepfather. On closer analysis, the involuntary TPR proceedings also were predominantly adoptive precludes. TPR provides a "tidy" method of freeing the child in question for later adoption proceedings. Though the term "involuntary termination" implies contest, in the vast majority of such cases there was no evidence of genuine controversy. On the contrary, several fathers against whom involuntary petitions were filed later moved to substitute voluntary requests for TPR. While filing an involuntary petition might be perceived as an adversarial tactic, there is little evidence that it stimulated counterattack. The type of contested hearing so much discussed in the context of litigation - and contemplated by the statutory provisions of TPR - hardly ever appeared in the 840 cases studied.

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[5] Generally, plans for the child's future were stated by the social agency, which in most cases was giving service to the natural parent or parents and in many instances was petitioner in the TPR proceeding.

To be certain of this conclusion, all involuntary cases were extensively studied. Two findings emerged from close examination of this group of 94 children, the subjects of involuntary petitions in two counties during 1963. Only 9 of the 94 were involved in hearings in which the TPR petition was actually contested. The remaining 85 resulted either in an uncontested decree of TPR or in denial or withdrawal of petitions for considerations wholly irrelevant to issues of fact or law germane to TPR.

Most involuntary petitions were initiated by a custodial parent or nonrelated caretaker for the stated purpose of further adoption. Seven children were in so unusual a situation as to resist generalization, and seventeen children, all on petitions initiated by social agencies, included twelve who were proposed for adoption and only five for whom long-term guardianship was contemplated.

The theory in the literature and the facts gathered in this study from cases brought to court do not coincide. Although TPR is asserted to be a boon for a child of severly neglectful or inadequate parents by conferring power for long-range planning on guardians and cutting off parental interference in his life (Children's Bureau 1961; cf. Simpson 1962), very few cases exemplify this use.

The question then arose whether situations of extreme and protracted child neglect were being referred to court for TPR, notwithstanding its theoretical availability to remedy such undesirable child care situations. At a later stage of study, therefore, a census was administered to all social agencies known to participate in termination proceedings. Workers were asked to list all children whom they regarded to be suitable candidates for TPR. Listed names were checked against court records at intervals of six to twelve months following the census date to determine how many subsequently had been referred to court for termination action. Agency records on the two groups - those who were referred and those who were not - were read to determine personal characteristics of the children and their parents and the nature of past court and social agency histories.

The nonreferred population differed markedly from the group referred to TPR in age, pathological characteristics of children or their parents, and the course and nature of social agency involvement. The nonreferred were an older, more disturbed group, possessing more deviant parents who had themselves experienced longer periods of agency service, as compared with either of two other groups of children: the 1963 TPR population or the census children subsequently referred to TRP. Thus the involuntary cases turned out to be different from what had been expected. It was the nonreferred census population which displayed hard-core pathological family life or deviance. The system of referral to the courts was not working, it appeared, in a way contemplated by professional writers. And if this was true, a number of explanations could be advanced. The study was limited to one particular court process - TPR. One could only guess at its relative merit as compared with other judicial and nonjudicial remedies for family disorganization in practical, as opposed to postulated terms. One would need to select a population defined in terms of family problem, not a discrete court process, in order to determine the impact of laws on resolution or amelioration of the problem.

But another point was revealed by additional findings, for neither did the work process appear to work as anticipated with respect to the voluntary TPR cases. One interesting aspect of the Wisconsin termination law was the requirement that appointed guardians report regularly to the court on the status of children whose parental rights and responsibilities have been terminated (Wis. Stat. § 48.43(4) (1955)). Aside from the fact that this statutory mandate was differently interpreted (judging by the study findings on 1963 cases) by the various social agencies and individuals who were appointed guardian, it was clear from reports returned (in 80 percent of the applicable cases) that the children had not moved into adoptive placement in the proportions or at the rate of speed that might have been inferred from the social summaries or oral testimony submitted to the court at the time of the TPR hearings. A year after TPR had been ordered, 15 percent of the children subject to report on their whereabouts were known not to be in adoptive homes. In other words, a substantial proportion of those freed from parental ties were in the limbo of foster home, institutional, or other nonadoptive types of placements.

Yet adoption had been forecast for 95 percent of the children. Thus, although the vast majority of cases to which the guardianship appointment (and hence the court reporting) requirement applied were voluntary TPR cases, and cases in which adoption had been expected, a not inconsiderable ratio of children on whom information was available were not even in adoptive homes, let alone in the status of adoptee. It was also notable that no record of any kind as to the child's whereabouts could be found in 21 percent of the cases.

Termination statutes are intended to facilitate attainment of the goals of substantive laws which authorize state intervention into family life. They do not introduce new grounds for such intervention. Historically, it has been juvenile court and custody laws and the grounds for dispensing with parental consent to adoption which lay out the criteria for state intrusion upon parental power. Termination is primarily a procedural tool which relates to adoption. Only secondarily, and rarely, is it used to buttress what is basically a neglect charge by permitting displacement of natural parents with a state-- chosen substitute -- a guardian. Although study findings confirmed the function of TPR as an adoptive prelude in terms of the characteristics of children and parents involved and the plans for the children asserted in court, there was a gap between the promise and performance of adoptive placement. A not insignificant number of children, judging by recorded locations, had not advanced on the route to adoption. Moreover, reports were missing on an equally large number. With only court records to go on in most cases, we were limited in our ability to evaluate the practical workings of TPR. Moreover, though presumably the reporting requirement was included in the statute to provide an ex post facto check on TPR decisions, there was no evidence that either court, social agencies, or community citizens' bodies had tried to follow up and appraise TPR decisions on the basis of this pool of data.

It may be belaboring the obvious to point out the implications of these findings on the implementation of TPR for the broader subject of the law's relation to children. First, they indicate that an asserted rationale for a legal procedure may not be an operative factor effecting its use - or that its use will trigger unexepcted consequences. Second, the findings point up inadequacies on the record-collecting and evaluative side of TPR. Neither the social agencies concerned nor the courts had generated data to answer certain crucial policy questions. This is not noted to condemn either "party" to the TPR process. We know that the information collected by court or agencies will usually be that which the institution wants for its own purposes. Without an informed research staff or pressure from outside sources, it is likely to collect data to show the volume of business and productivity of its staff. The information will be organization oriented, rather than problem oriented, and hence of limited value in analyzing the social problem purportedly being dealt with. Yet operating agencies, situated as they are to do the best research on the populations they serve, have inumerable advantages over the outside researcher. The case for improved agency research must be pushed to meet the test of public accountability and to satisfy the long-range interests of child development and legal personnel improvement of legal institutions and substantive law.

Third, the findings of this type of study seem, retrospectively, to be of limited value in formulating basic changes. The study suffered from the same type of deficiency which has handicapped numerous delinquency investigations: it was limited (with the exception of the sample of nonreferred census cases) to children who reach the initial stage of a formal TPR hearing. This population may be highly selective. To know, it would be necessary to examine the pool of potential adoptive children and also, somehow, the pool of children currently at risk of serious parental incompetence or mistreatment. As it is, this study design did not permit comparison between children referred for TPR - and subsequently adopted - and those freed for adoption in some other way. Nor was it possible to compare the very small proportion of non adoptive TPRs with children referred for different kinds of court action, or those not referred to court at all. The study raises more questions than it answers.

Fourth, for all that termination and other juvenile court proceedings have been characterized as sociolegal, there is remarkably little evidence of collaboration between lawyers and behavioral scientists in either formulatiing or implementing substantive law. Certainly, legal talent has been used in drafting termination statutes. According to the Wisconsin study, moreover, lawyers represent one or more parties in a considerable number of cases. Persons trained in law sit in judgment on the petititons; a TPR decree is a judicial act. Yet the role of the law-trained is mainly a formal one: preserving the appearances of solemnity and deliberation and checking on compliance with procedural essentials. Lawyer participation is lacking, by and large, in the problem-formulation stage of a TPR case. Lobbying for TPR has been principally a social-work task. It is social agencies which have formulated the reasons for TPR and come forward with facts in support of the asserted rationale.

Laws on Delinquency and Incorrigibility

Up to this point the laws chosen for discussion have been primarily procedural. The purpose of discussion has been to suggest some of the issues which arise in relatively straightforward attempts to improve the means of attaining largely-agreed-upon ends. It should be clear by now that the creation of new procedural byways often induces conflict over the goals of social policy. The wedding of grounds derived from adoption and neglect law in the TRP statute stimulates reconsideration of the purview of neglect jurisdiction and of the desirable network of relationships among social agencies, courts and lawyers and court service staff, and such first-line child protective agencies as health and educational authorities. Similarly, epidemiological studies of legally reported child abuse turn us back again to review the substantive grounds of state action. They should stir our interest in reconsideration, moreover, of the forms of such intervention. What is the appropriate role of state compulsion and its relation to the time-hallowed (but, for all practical matters, eroding) value of family privacy? What alternatives to overt compulsion - such as financial aid, social services, special education - now lie within our competence? Would their selective use hold promise of achieving certain ends now sought through application of coercive sanctions?

If this order of questioning is stimulated by review of laws which are predominantly "housekeeping" in character, it is urgently presented by laws which pose fundamental issues of man's relationship to man and to authority. So it is that scholarly and judicial discussion of juvenile delinquency has borne down of late years on such essentials. For all that particular court decisions and statutory changes seem to turn on narrow, even highly technical considerations, broad questions regarding authority lie beneath. The direction of juvenile court debate in the past twenty years has been to challenge the most fundamental propositions underlying that court's assertion of jurisdiction over delinquent and other classes of "vulnerable" children.

Commencing with Tappan's (1949) sharp attack, the wave of criticism has spilled over into critiques of the historical "explanation" of the juvenile court (see Fox 1970 and Rendleman 1971) and into "due process" challenges to juvenile court doctrine. *Kent v. United States* (383 U.S. 541 (1966)), decided in 1966, illustrates the point. This landmark case, signaling the advent of "the children's hour" (Paulsen 1966a) in the United States Supreme Court, turned on interpretation of the District of Columbia juvenile court act. Justice Fortas, writing for the majority, did not limit himself to an exercise in statutory construction; instead, in a closely reasoned attack on practices in the juvenile court, he marshaled evidence to conclude that the minor subject to its jurisdiction may receive "the worst of both worlds: (he may get) neither the protections accorded to adults nor the solicitious care and regenerative treatment postulated for children" (p. 566). In the celebrated *Gault* (*In re Gault*, 387 U.S. 1 (1967)) case Justice Fortas elaborated this theme. Not only are certain minimal essentials of due process, firmly established in the criminal law, equally applicable to the young in this forum, but the "credibility gap" of juvenile court rhetoric is exposed in the course of Justice Fortas's opinion, especially in those parts based on nonlegal materials which indict contemporary practice in delinquency control. The relevance of *Gault* for other areas of law - for the juvenile court's neglect jurisdiction, to cite one example, or for the burgeoning field of welfare law, to cite another - has not escaped scholarly attention (Burt 1971). The waves of critical attack on the broad ambit of juvenile court jurisdiction mount in force and fury. And ebb tide is not yet in sight.

What are the basic issues underlying this furor? Two facts - possibly opposite sites of the same coin - are especially influential. On the one hand, there is considerable public alarm about the rising rate (whether real or apparent, Morris and Hawkins 1970) of youthful crime. On the other, the capriciousness and the ineffectiveness of present juvenile court practices increasingly concern its specialist audiences.

At the center of the storm is an institution - the juvenile court - whose purpose and procedure are today much as they were in 1899. Throughout its existence the court has encompassed children. Although established to reform the wayward and delinquent, it has also been freighted with neglected and dependent children. Accretions of adoption jurisdiction, of truancy enforcement, and of commitment of mental retardates also evidence an expansive child-oriented jurisdiction. Specific contours of jurisdiction vary from state to state. Certainly the administrative duties of the juvenile court are appreciably different from one place to another. Even so, it can be said that among judicial forums the juvenile court is universally regarded as the most important place for adjudicating child welfare or child behavior standards.[6]

The proposition is, therefore, that children who are seen as requiring the control or protection administered by legal instrumentalities come to juvenile courts. Exceptionally, divorce cases or guardianship disputes in other forums involve open controversy; exceptionally, juveniles are tried in criminal court. These courts then have recourse to the laws embodying the standards of state intervention for child protective or corrective purposes. But such instances are rare. Therefore, we may concentrate on juvenile courts without danger of losing the full flavor of debate respecting the proper standards of intervention.

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[6] Child custody cases, which arise in large numbers in other courts (divorce courts), usually involve formal approval of terms already agreed to by the parties and do not typically feature the presence of the children.

Consequently, we need to assay the standards advanced as proper criteria for intervention. What are the hallmarks of juvenile court jurisdiction? First and foremost, there is juvenile "crime" - the commission of acts which, if committed by adults, would be breaches of the criminal law. These were the initial grounds introduced in juvenile court legislation. But soon conduct illegal-for-children-only was included; associating with undesirable companions, swearing, gambling, defying parental authority, and a host of additional acts specifically prohibited to children have long formed an important part of delinquency jurisdiction (President's Commission...1967b, pp. 25-28).

Moreover, delinquency, as early defined in many states, overlapped the definition of neglect. Neglect today typically connotes passivity on the part of minors and abusive acts or systematic disregard of minimal child-rearing requirements on the part of parents. In early juvenile court enactments the statutory formulations reflected an earnest desire, among lawmakers and citizens, to dispense with sharp differentiation among the grounds for jurisdiction. It was argued that, after all, the child had a need for treatment; artifical distinctions between delinquents and neglected children might erect unfortunate obstacles to securing that very course of therapy one child required (Handler 1965). A common response was to formulate delinquency and neglect grounds in terms which overlapped to a considerable degree. This theory is reflected in the approaches in the Scandinavian nations (Tappan 1962), for example. The thesis is that both endangered and endangering children are, generally, "children in trouble." Legal distinctions which dictate different modes of treatment are unwarranted; they may indeed be highly undesirable.

The debate of recent decades in the United States has proceeded in a different direction. Its course has undoubtedly been influenced by the peculiar position of the juvenile courts in American society. These courts have carried a heavy burden of administrative responsibility, filling in the gaps where no other institution existed or - as is more often true today - where no other institution is willing to act and to bear the onerous duty of resolving distasteful social problems. In this country, moreover, they have been a second-line agency for assimilating diverse groups into the mainstream of prevailing social mores. When schools or churches or police have failed (by precept or cajolery or imprecation or threat of force) to produce conforming behavior, the juvenile courts have served as agencies of last recourse. In the metropolitan areas particularly, this has placed on juvenile courts a heavy "socialization" burden (Paulsen 1967).

Seen in this light, juvenile courts are understandably the objects of attack in an age of civil-rights consciousness. The Chicago of the distant past (or the London of yesterday) might contemplate with equanimity a paternalistic stance of juvenile courts toward immigrant or migrant populations. In American cities of the present, smarting from the raw wounds of civil disorder, the imposition of "middle class" standards in a coercive context is a red flag to minority groups and to civil libertarians.

The questions are fundamental: What should be society's response to confirmed or serious offenders who happen also to be under age? What is the best means of redirecting that undeniably annoying and expensive misbehavior which seems to attract such a large proportion of juveniles? Do we need a separate forum in which to hear juvenile cases? And if we do, what ought to be the rules of the game?

Despite extended discussion of these questions, it cannot be said that major reform of juvenile court legislation has issued forth in response. Several factors are intermingled. For one, the case for procedural protection is sometimes confused with the importance of reviewing the substantive law applied by juvenile courts. It is doubtful, for instance, whether providing representation of juveniles by counsel - an undeniably important aspect of due process will solve problems which inhere in the sweep of jurisdiction (Handler and Rosenheim 1966; see also Platt, Schechter, and Tiffany 1968). If one concedes this point, a formidable barrier to significant change arises. Redefining the substantive bases of intervention is a bedeviling task. Commentators seem agreed that the scope of juvenile court jurisdiction is too broad; but until recently very few (myself included!) have suggested precisely how to limit it (Wald 1968; Morris and Hawkins 1970; Rosenheim 1973).

Legislation necessarily demands generalized concepts of behavior. The standards of the criminal law, a doctrinal source often pointed to by critics of juvenile justice, fall short in some respects of attaining precise and narrow formulations of grounds of antisocial conduct. To the extent that criminal law, as implemented, is more selective and rigorous in its choice of "suspects", it is largely because of historic tradition. And it should be noted that the traditions are products not merely of centuries of judicial decisions and of the evolution of prosecutorial discretion, but also - and most importantly - of different attitudes toward adult, as distinct from juvenile, norm breakers (Platt, Schechter, and Tiffany 1968).

The dilemma worthy of serious attention among all child-development experts is simply this: In our desire to protect the young against criminal process and to allow them a "second chance," we have also been less than willing to let them escape the net of state intervention altogether. We accept the fact that an adult suspect of burglary may "go free" because of the insufficiency of evidence or a challenge to the propriety of a search which produced the incriminating evidence. We may come to tolerate the same result with respect to an accused juvenile. But in all probability we will be reluctant to forgo efforts at follow-up (and thus at attenuated control). We readily accept the "presumption of innocence" in adult cases whereas, by contrast, we presume a threat of loss of innocence in juveniles which is a warrant for state activity.

Even the staunchest advocates of procedural rights in juvenile court admit sometimes to undertaking heroic efforts to convince a youth of his need for some kind of treatment in situations where the developing law increases the possibility of "acquittal" (which is to say, his chance of dismissal. Besides, opportunities exist for converting a delinquency petition into one of neglect or incorrigibility (in modern phraseology, "in need of supervision"). The data routinely furnished by juvenile courts fail to indicate how often this happens or at what state of proceedings. The theoretical possibility of "transforming" petitions creates an impressive area of discretion in juvenile officials, however, for the grounds of noncriminal jurisdiction are broadly phrased and these proceedings are not encumbered with all the various constitutional barriers with which delinquency proceedings, by contrast, are burdened (Dorsen and Rezneck 1967).

Moreover, it is important that we ground our theoretical preferences in fact. It is possible that refinements of juvenile court jurisdiction have relatively little impact on the volume and kind of business with which the court is burdened (Handler and Rosenheim 1966). If, as is true, the underlying legislation defines a broad spectrum of non-conforming conduct for juveniles (whether strictly criminal or not) as the business of the court, then the cases coming to it will in large degree be determined by those possessing effective (as opposed to authorized) powers of referral. These agencies, among whom police occupy the crucial position, command large areas of discretionary judgment. They will refer to court what they think annoys or alarms the communities they serve. My recent observations in two Scandinavian and three British cities confirm my suspicion that variables of legislation are less important determinants of court "input" than are the commonly accepted social definitions of nonconforming behavior which justify authoritative intervention for the child's "salvation." Or, to put the point another way, few of the popular proposals for changing jurisdictional formulation and juvenile court procedure appear likely to reduce significantly the number of results about which critics of the juvenile court complain.

If this pessimistic appraisal of current juvenile court reforms is borne out by experience, one may properly ask what the legal system can contribute to remedy a scheme of juvenile justice which has been roundly criticized. One recent authoritative answer to this questions suggests that the legal system's contributions are very limited and should be recognized as being such. In its general report, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, as well as in the Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency, the Crime Commission stressed the responsibility of agencies of control outside the legal system (Preisent's Commission...1967a,b). This is not to say that the Crime Commission evaded contemporary challenges to juvenile court operations or discounted the contribution of lawyers in that forum. On the contrary, its recommendations were explicit and due-process oriented. The commission recommended a narrowing of juvenile court jurisdiction, to be accomplished by reducing age limits or eliminating certain grounds altogether, and an infusion of the protections for juveniles which are normally afforded adult offenders (or, by modern law, ought to be). It also espoused a range of, and a more creative approach toward, remedial treatment for adjudicated juvenile offenders. But it is notable that the most eloquent rhetoric of the commission was directed toward the schools, police, and social agencies - in short, to the community institutions which come in contact with deviant juveniles before they are officially referred to the juvenile court. It saw the hard core problem of juvenile delinquency as securing appropriate community response outside the legal system. Only exceptionally, the commission suggested, should the legal system come into play in full force with the various proposed protections of the criminal law (President's Commission ... 1967b).

Thus, if we examine a set of laws which present issues of substance - as juvenile court acts do - we find that underlying the issues is a wide range of social needs to which, at best, a legal system makes indirect contribution. We further find that the legal issues, though susceptible of greater precision in presentation, do not even lend themselves to tailor-made or clear-cut solutions (cf. Rubin 1971). Instead, the prevailing wisdom of today seems to counsel two courses: moderation in applying coercive measures and tidying up of the legislative framework. Beyond that, however, though a few critics have invited a more radical solution, the general mood seems to be one of preference for a separate juvenile court system, improved in its procedural and correctional aspects, rather than reversion to the criminal courts for serious offenders of the abandonment of the goal of "correction" for the juvenile "nuisance."

FORECAST

Who claims the vision to predict the direction of legal developments in the next quarter-century? A review of child-protection laws cannot fail to impress one with the rapid growth of this field of social legislation. Many of the accepted functions of our legal system are only a short century old in the form we know them now. Many specific programs are only several decades old. Many controversial issues of the day have come alive within a decade. Such are the fashions of intellectual concern that the historical continuity of certain social problems (as David Matza points out for "disreputable poverty") "has been obscured by the obsessive shifting of terms" (Matza 1966, p. 635).

Yet there are indications of real differences in the perceptions and the statuses of youth which will, inevitably produce repercussions in the law. Most notable, perhaps, is the anomaly of youth simultaneously experiencing a far longer period of dependency and commanding a greater importance as consumers. The youth market - in clothes, cars, records, Cokes (and drugs) - is big business. Educational institutions are a major youth industry. For an increasing proportion of the population, learning - and with it economic dependency on parents or on the state - continues well past the age of majority. Dependent status is no longer so likely to be co-existensive with the years of a minor's subservient legal position. And at the same time evidence abounds of earlier physical maturation and a higher degree of sophistication about world events among today's adolescents, as compared with our father's or our own generations.

These developments highlight the insufficiency of the principles from which derive many of our laws concerning children. The seven ages of man trace the stages of the "infant mewling and puking in the nurse's arms" and the "whining school-boy, with his satchel and shining morning face, creeping unwillingly to school." But these stages do not exhaust the roles of minors. Our observations also tell us they perform as "the lover, sighing like furnance" and the "soldier, full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard." The law but poorly accommodates these multifarious roles. The necessary distinction which laws have drawn between utter helplessness and full competence obscures the many intermediate stages of learning, testing oneself, and reacting to social definitions assigned by others.

There is already evident in our legal system an accommodation to the evolving phases of personal development. Age boundaries, to take a signal mark of stages toward competence, are pegged at different points for different legal purposes. An abused child, for example, to be reportable in Illinois must be under sixteen; he may be neglected until eighteen, however, and he has, until recently, lacked the competence to cast his vote before reaching twenty-one. Acts - such as marriage or emancipation - may prematurely cast upon one minor responsibilities from which others of his age are exempt.

Nonetheless, the existing points of legal differentiation owe a greater debt to history than to articulated theories based on youth's halting but progressive outreach toward maturity. There is the danger that currently controlling age limits may be regarded by boys and girls to whom special procedures are made applicable as demeaning or threatening. Participants in the 1970 White House Conference on Children were very sensitive to the point of view of the young (White House Conference on Children 1970). Were we to consult them about specific laws we would likely find a preference for earlier assumption of full accountability. Paternalism, especially if seasoned with the salt of economic dependency, is painful to swallow. It generates spasms of rejection - not only of the immediate paternalistic act but of the basic protective instinct society attempts to express.

When society accepted a positioning of family members by ascription, the lines of legal demarcation between minority and majority were probably seen as unexceptional. Custom, feudal ties, and the church were major guides to youth in their identity quest. The introduction of the social contract and the elevation of values of individual freedoms not only change these guides, they significantly alter the rules of the game. "Rapid technological change makes it impossible for any traditional way of being older to become so institutionalized that the younger generation can step right into it, or indeed, resist it in revolutionary fashion" (Erikson 1968, p. 38).

Implied in these developments is something more than a shift in the power and traditions demarking the older from the younger generation; "the mere division(is) ...becoming rather superannuated." As Erikson notes, "Aging...(is) a quite different expereince for those who find themselves occupationally outdated than for those who have something somewhat more lasting to offer...Thus the relative waning of the parents and the emergence of the young adult specialist as the permanent and permanently changing authority is bringing about a shift by which older youth guided by such young authority will have to take increasing responsibility for the conduct of younger youth - and we for the orientation of the specialists and of older youth" (1968, pp. 38-39).

Beyond this, Erikson makes a further point which seems to be highly relevant to the future direction of laws relating to children and youth. Reminding us that there is "an age-specific *ethical* capacity in older youth," he adjures us to attend to its implications: "That we consistently neglect this potential and even deny it in good paternalistic fashion is probably resented much more by youth than our dutiful and feeble attempts to keep order by prohibition." (p. 39).

This analysis offers a useful clue to one line of legal reform. It involves review of substantive law and procedure to isolate provisions which violate the semiautonomous status youth feel they have acquired. As earlier noted, narrowing juvenile court jurisdiction would help. This move would reduce the range of opportunities for ceremonial occasions for moralizing and imposing sanctions on aspects of behavior which threaten neither public security nor even the future of an individual in any serious sense. As "threats" to the body politic, long hair and robbery surely are distinguishable. But officials, by their reactions, sometimes appear not to differentiate. Their reactions stimulate adverse response among the young.

Limiting and redefining adult authority - especially that authority vested in the legal system, with coercive power at its command - is an urgent task. It will be difficult. Contraction of legislative standards for juvenile court intervention requires review of criminal law - a task completed or under way in numerous states. It also demands rethinking the rationale of jurisdiction over non-criminal conduct of children. For

> (a)bandoning the possibility of coercive power over a child who is acting in a seriously self-destructive way would mean losing the opportunity of reclamation in a few cases. (This) is hard to contemplate. . . But in declining to relinquish

> power. . . we must bluntly aske what our present power achieves and must acknowledge in answer that at the most we do not really know, and in at least some cases we suspect it may do as much harm as good. (President's Commission . . . 1967b, p. 27)

To posit the desirability of abandoning coercive power whose principal justification is the self-improvement or protection of an individual minor is to pose a central challenge to juvenile court philosophy and to the prior work of the child savers. This most clearly emerges in the context of conduct illegal for children only. Yet judging by recent investigations of the criminal side of juvenile court jurisdiction, the paternalistic stance is important there as well. Review of the public defender's role in that court by Platt and his colleagues (1968) so suggests:

> The perspective employed by the public defender in organizing and defining his job suggests that juvenile court advocacy differs in many ways from criminal court advocacy...His views on youth and delinquency are really no different from other adult officials (teachers, social workers, youth officers, etc.) who are charged with regulating youthful behavior. Juveniles get the same kind of treatment in juvenile court that they get in school or at home and the public defender accepts this as one of the inevitable and appropriate consequences of adolescence. (p. 637)

The proposition is that intergenerational conflict is a pervasive problem. How youth see themselves and how adults see them have consequences for legal institutions. Their visions also affect other social institutions. What is distinctive about their bearing on the legal system arises from the fact that instruments of legal control command coercive sanctions. Even so, the significance of this distinction has been overstated. Behavior is also regulable by withholding benefits; punishment is only one of several impressive means of regulation. More subtle forms of social control may be exceedingly effective regulators, from a practical point of view (Handler 1966; Handler and Hollingsworth 1971). It is vitally important to recognize this fact if we are to legislate and administer with sensitivity to human freedom.

Having recognized this point, however, it remains that legal sanctions are especially stigmatizing and, in the extreme form of imprisonment, among the most (if not the most) coercive measures which society can employ. The "degradation" ceremonies of law are nonpareil. Access should not be lightly had to such "rites of transition." Yet, as Francis Allen (1959) has informed us, the infusion of the rehabilitative ideal into criminal justice - and most especially, juvenile justice - has so confused us as to the true purpose of legal institutions that we have been too ready to turn to them. The fatal flaw in modern thinking is contained in the belief that beneficiently motivated behavior can do no harm. This debases the insight of the rehabilitative ideal. Rebellious actions on the part of youth bespeak their contemporary objections, whereas the experience of Europe in the 1930s points up the essential philosophical flaw in this thinking.

It follows that one broad avenue of legal reform is mapped out. It is the road of statutory contraction, of eschewing too-ready reliance on coercive measures over youth. The road would be landscaped, moreover, with procedural safeguards which announce, to youth and adult alike, the seriousness with which society reacts to those remaining acts of deviation defined as "delinquent" and reaffirms its intent to respect in the course of the legal process the integrity of all persons, juveniles included, who are charged with deviation.

Other avenues are tentatively charted, their routes not yet clearly evident. Lowering of the age for assuming certain adult responsibilities is one possible direction. Expansion of various opportunity strategies is yet another set of roads to be explored. Allowances in support of school attendance, new varieties of work-training programs, partial control by youth of the operation of "parietal" institutions - these are among the possibilities. What will develop is hard to foresee, yet accommodation of presently conflicting needs is a task which commands immediate attention.

Who will respond and what will be the pedigree of those asserting expertise? Neither the law-trained nor the child-development specialist can cope alone. Each requires the questions underlying the other's discipline; each will gain from the experience and knowledge the other commands. To insure that legal or child-development experts are alert to the best of a wide range of current thinking will take new affiliations and new cross-disciplinary allegiances. It will demand that the commentators in any one speciality open themselves to critical appraisal by those in others (see Burt 1971, for an illustration of perceptive use of behavioral science materials in legal commentary).

Or, to put the point in a way which comes full circle to the opening theorem of this article: If the man is to be a worthy father of the child, it will take the combined curiosity and effort of us all.

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